DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 198 240 UD 021 251

TITLE Symposium on the Socialization of Black Women. (Houston, Texas, September 20-21, 1979).
INSTITUTION National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Washington, D.C.: Texas Southern Univ., Houston.
PUB DATE Sep 80
NOTE 156p.: Names and addresses of symposium participants have been deleted in order to protect their privacy.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black Achievement: *Blacks: Careers: Conferences: Elementary Secondary Education: Equal Education: Family School Relationship: *Females: Higher Education: Policy Formation: *Social Development: Social Environment: Social Experience: *Socialization: Success

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the Black Women's Symposium was to provide information to the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs to assist in the formulation of policy and legislative recommendations concerning the achievement of educational equity for black women and girls. The Symposium attempted to explore the impact of socialization on the development and achievements of black women and girls: to identify characteristics associated with success in education, business, and politics: and to develop recommendations for strengthening the socialization process through better educational experiences. This report includes the research presentations submitted at the Symposium. Five presentations were made: (1) Black Women in Non-Traditional Careers, (2) Political and Economic Roles of Academic Black Women, (3) Political Socialization of Black Women State Legislators, (4) Socialization Patterns and Characteristics Associated with Success, and (5) Young Black Girls: The Separate Worlds of Families and Schools. Also included in the report are the Council's findings and recommendations and reviews of the Symposium program and participants. (MK)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED198240

SYMPOSIUM

ON THE

SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK WOMEN

SPONSORED BY

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
ON WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

AND

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

SEPTEMBER 20-21, 1979

HOUSTON, TEXAS

UD021251

2 FEB 2 1981

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

CHAIR:
Susan Margaret Vance
Attorney, Glazer and Vance
Chicago, IL

VICE CHAIR:
Carolyn Attneave
Professor of Psychology
University of Washington
Seattle, WA

Eliza Carney
High School Teacher
Tempe, AZ

Marjorie Bell Chambers
Graduate Dean
The Union for Experimental
Colleges and Universities
Cincinnati, OH

Agnes Chan
Retired Teacher
San Francisco, CA

Sister M. Isolina Ferre
Executive Director
Dispensario San Antonio
Ponce, PR

Elizabeth Fryer
Library Consultant
Nashville, TN

Jon Fuller
President, Great Lakes
Colleges Association
Ann Arbor, MI

Gladys Gunn
Central State University
Dayton, OH

Ellen Hoffman
Director of Governmental Affairs
Children's Defense Fund
Washington, DC

Kathleen Humphrey
Student, Duke University
Durham, NC

Thera Johnson
Supervisor, Student Services
Weber County School District
Ogden, UT

Anna Doyle Levesque
Elementary School Teacher
Portsmouth, RI

Paul Parks
Former Secretary of Education
Department of Education
Boston, MA

J. Richard Rossie
Attorney
Memphis, TN

Bernice Sandler
Director, Project on the Status
and Education of Women
Association of American Colleges
Washington, DC

Marguerite Selden
Retired Assistant Superintendent
D.C. Public School System
Washington, DC

EX OFFICIO MEMBERS:

Staff Director
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Director, Women's Bureau
U.S. Department of Labor

Director, Women's Action Program
U.S. Department of Health and
Human Services

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
Joy R. Simonson

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The planning and implementation of a Symposium is accomplished through the work and advice of many people whose names may not appear anywhere in the record of the proceedings. There are several persons who contributed to the special dimension of this Symposium. Dr. Gloria Scott, Vice President of Clark College, who was the first project director, gave the Symposium its special character.

Dr. Joyce Payne, who was the project officer for the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, gave unselfishly of her time and talent. Throughout the months of planning, she spent many hours on the endless details of our project.

The National Advisory Council members, Eliza Carney, chair, Gladys Gunn, vice chair, Paul Parks, and Marguerite Selden, shared their wisdom, experience and perspective on the issues under discussion during the Symposium. Their participation in and support of the Symposium reflected their concern with the unique problems that Black women and girls face in the society.

The staff of Texas Southern University Office of University Relations, Sue A. Murray, Cornelia E. Barnes, Charles J. Smith III, Eddie Maxie, Melva Becnel, Charmaine Brown and Holly Hogrobrooks, gave unstintingly of their time and energy to both the sophisticated and menial tasks. The Black Women's Symposium owes a deep debt of gratitude to these and other talented and resourceful people who helped make the Symposium and this final report possible.

Finally, thanks to the Symposium participants whose sensitivity to the problems of Black women made the dialogue stimulating and productive. Their perspective on the priority issues and plan of action brought the Symposium into the world of reality. For this we are deeply grateful.

Hortense W. Dixon
Symposium Coordinator

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT i

TABLE OF CONTENTS ii

I INTRODUCTION 1

II RESEARCH PRESENTERS 5

Anne Kathleen Burlew 6
Black Women in Non-Traditional Careers

Olga Welch with Joyce Jones 29
Political & Economic Roles of Academic Black Women

Jewel Limar Prestage 50
Political Socialization of Black Women State Legislators

Lillye H. Jones 81
Socialization Patterns & Characteristics Associated With Success

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot 105
Young Black Girls:
The Separate Worlds of Families & Schools

III FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings 131

Recommendations 134

IV THE SYMPOSIUM IN REVIEW - PROGRAM & PARTICIPANTS 141

INTRODUCTION

The National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs was established by Congress in the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974 to advise Federal officials concerning educational equity for women and girls. The 20-member Presidentially appointed body has from its inception been particularly conscious of the double burden of minority women who suffer from both race and sex discrimination.

A preliminary review of research revealed that few studies of the socialization process focused on Black women or examined the combined impact of race and sex on the development and behavior of Black women. Like society, the research that forms a basis for legislative, policy, and program decisions is generally dominated by white males. It is their perceptions, values, biases, fears, experiences, cultural orientation, and educational training that determine the questions asked and, hence, the answers that are produced.

Therefore, the Advisory Council contracted with Texas Southern University, a historically Black institution, to plan and implement a Symposium that would enable the Council to formulate policy and legislative recommendations for consideration by the Department of Education concerning the achievement of educational equity for Black women and girls. The Symposium was to focus on several aspects of socialization, using research conducted on these

subjects by Black women researchers. Papers were both commissioned and solicited for presentation at the Symposium.

The purpose of the Black Women's Symposium was to provide a forum to explore the impact of socialization on the development and achievements of Black women and girls; to identify those characteristics associated with success in education, business, and politics; and develop recommendations for strengthening the socialization process through better educational experiences. Specifically the Symposium sought to:

1. identify priority issues related to the education of Black women and girls;
2. propose policy initiatives and program directions related to the educational needs of Black women and girls;
3. increase Federal awareness of the need for specific research and programmatic initiatives directed toward the advancement of Black women and girls; and
4. establish additional support for Council initiatives among public organizations and institutions.

Toward these ends, the Symposium deliberations included aspects of the environmental milieu in which socialization takes place: the impact of the larger social order upon socialization; the dynamics of learning that occur within families, schools, and at work; the learning that takes place with teachers, peers, community

leaders, and other role models; and the relationships among the various institutions and actors that shape the experiences of Black women and girls.

In the papers that follow in Part II on this report, Sara Lawrence Lightfoot presents a penetrating and compelling discourse which highlights the complexity of the socialization of Black girls and women. She points out the diversity of families, roles, and relationships which are ignored in the prejudicial, stereotypical, and superficial treatment of Black women in research and educational policy and practices. Olga Welch reports on a pilot study that examined historical and sociocultural influences on the development of a small sample of professional Black women in higher education. Anne Kathleen Burlew presents an analysis of an investigation of differences in the sociocultural background, perceptions and career--related expectations of Black college females pursuing traditional and nontraditional careers. Lillye Henderson Jones reports on a study of 640 male and female managers in the public sector. These studies examined differences in socialization and career paths of men and women in the study, with emphasis on differences between Black and non-Black women. Jewel Limar Prestage reviews the results of an intensive review of the literature on political involvement of Black women. This presentation was followed by a report on an extensive investigation of thirty-two Black women state legislators, their sociocultural experiences, perceptions of role, policy priorities, legislative work, activities

in politics and views of the women's movement.

In addition to the five presentations of papers, four workshops, chaired by knowledgeable facilitators, met in two sessions each to discuss the implications of the research, to share perceptions of unmet needs in public policy and programs, and to develop findings and recommendations for submission to the National Advisory Council. The Summary and Recommendations which follow are synthesized from the four groups. The caliber of the research, the depth of the discussion groups, and above all the concern and commitment of the participants make this Black Women's Symposium a basis for action by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs and many other Federal education officials.

II

RESEARCH PRESENTERS

Dr. Anne Kathleen Hoard Burlew

Dr. Olga Welch
and
Dr. Joyce Jones

Dr. Jewel Limar Prestage

Ms. Lillye E. Henderson Jones

Dr. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot

Black Women in Non-Traditional Careers

Ann K. Burlew

Research Presenter

Dr. Anne Kathleen Hoard Burlew is Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Cincinnati. Formerly a researcher at the Institute of Social Research and the College of Community Service, she is the author of numerous publications on Black women and one of the editors of Reflections of Black Psychology.

Despite increases in the number of women in those professions in which women have traditionally not been present, the underrepresentation of women in certain traditionally male-dominated careers is still of great concern to the nation. In fact, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has as one of its goals the increase of women in male-dominated and higher prestige professions. The predictions of economists that a surplus of personnel will occur in professions in which women predominate but a shortage in certain male-dominated professions (e.g., math, science, management, geology, etc.) make it even more urgent that encouragement be given to women to consider careers in fields in which males predominate (Kahne, 1971). Black women are especially underrepresented in traditionally male professions. Furthermore, those who do enter these careers often report barriers as well as other negative experiences.

Those few studies of Black women in nontraditional careers have focused upon differences between traditionals and nontraditionals. These studies have demonstrated that Black women with certain backgrounds and personality characteristics are more likely than others to choose nontraditional careers. Nontraditionals are generally self-confident of their own abilities (Malcom et al., 1976), not very traditional in their attitudes about appropriate roles for women (Burlew and Johnson, 1978), and self- rather than other-oriented in their approaches to their careers (Mednick and Puryear, 1975). The mothers of nontraditionals have been found to be generally better educated and more likely than the mothers of traditionals to have held professional positions them-

selves (Epstein, 1973b).

Research on the experiences of Black women once they do enter traditionally male careers is almost non-existent. As more and more Black women undertake careers in these professions, it becomes increasingly necessary to better understand the circumstances facing Black women in nontraditional careers. In general, two questions need further consideration. First, what barriers do Black women in nontraditional careers perceive as threats to their career success? Second, how do Black women perceive that careers in nontraditional professions affect the rest of their lives, especially their marital lives, and the fulfillment of needs for professional growth and peer support? Both these questions were considered in the present research.

Parsons et al. (1976) have developed a model to explain the persistence of traditional sexrole behavior (e.g., vocational choice, education, etc.) among white women. This model suggests that there are two valid approaches to studying the persistence of traditional sexrole behavior among women. One approach is to focus on societal, cultural or economic-political impediments to changing from traditional patterns of behavior. Cultural expectations represent one form of societal barrier but there are certainly others such as the absence of support services that allow women to consider certain choices (e.g., discriminatory hiring practices, lack of provision for childcare facilities). The second approach is to focus on the means by which societal norms get translated into early socialization experiences so

that women acquire a set of attitudes, beliefs, choices, and behaviors consistent with the roles women are expected to play in the society. For example, parents would be important socializing agents as far as femininity is concerned, both by example and teaching.

Gurin and Epps (1975) suggested a similar theoretical perspective for Black women. They argued that Black women as well as white are socialized to conform to traditional female behaviors and that the same societal barriers that limit the choices of white women also do so among Black women. In a study of Black college women, Gurin and Epps (1975) found that most of the Black college women in sharp contrast to Black college men were attracted to careers in professions which even they viewed as low status professions and in which more than 50 percent of the profession were women. Gurin and Epps concluded that this disparity supports the theory that Black men and women like white men and women are socialized to be attracted to different work roles.

Gurin and Epps (1975) added that individuals make certain career choices because of their perceptions of the opportunity structure. They conclude that some Black women channel their aspirations away from the highly prestigious, male-dominated professions not only because of their perceptions of racial discrimination but also because of their beliefs about the additional discrimination they would face in these careers because they are women. Moreover, Gurin and Epps argue that some Black women decide not to pursue their aspirations for careers

in more prestigious professions because of their perceptions that potential marital partners may frown upon such a career for their wives.

In an earlier study this researcher explored differences between the socialization experiences of Black female traditionals and non-traditionals (Burlew and Johnson, 1978). That study also concluded that, indeed, the socialization experiences of Black women choosing traditional and nontraditional careers were different. In this study the differences in the societal impediments facing Black women once they entered nontraditional and traditional careers were examined. Specifically, this study was an investigation of the perceptions of Black female traditionals and nontraditionals about the obstacles they faced in their careers and the effect of their careers on their personal lives.

A review of the literature that is available on Black women in nontraditional careers suggested several barriers to career success. The most general barrier was discrimination. Malcom et al. (1976) found that Black women in one nontraditional profession --engineering-- not only felt discriminated against but also attributed this discrimination both to their sex and to their race. This is consistent with the conclusions of several authors that Black women suffer a double whammy of sexual and racial discrimination (Epstein, 1973; Ladner, 1977). Perceptions about sexual and racial discrimination were included in this study.

In an earlier study of Black college women, it was demonstrated

that Black college women pursuing nontraditional careers were no less confident than traditionals that they could complete the educational requirements for success in their chosen fields but that nontraditionals were significantly less confident than traditionals that they or other Black women could actually achieve career success in the fields they had chosen (Burlew and Johnson, 1978). This finding suggested that Black women were aware that while hard work may be as essential an ingredient for career success as it is for the successful completion of an educational program, other factors (e.g., mentoring) were also essential for career success. Nevertheless, many Black women, especially those in nontraditional areas, reported that they generally were not included in informal social networks in which political and social relationships were developed (Malcom et al., 1976). In this study this assumption was investigated further. Subjects were asked to indicate if the lack of political clout or the lack of important social contacts were barriers for themselves and other Black women in their professions.

Some Black women argue that their colleagues oftentimes believed that Black women were accepted into educational programs and later hired because of affirmative action requirements rather than because they were qualified or competent (Malcom et al., 1976). This study tested the hypothesis that such perceptions of incompetence by colleagues would be even greater among Black females in nontraditional than traditional professions because their colleagues were especially unaccustomed to working as peers with Black women in nontraditional

fields.

The impact of family life on a demanding career for a woman is not yet completely understood. Black women, in particular, have traditionally worked. In fact, a study of Black college women showed that most expected to work (Gurin & Gaylord, 1975). Furthermore, Black women tended to think of work and family life as compatible (Mednick and Puryear, 1975). It should be noted that the subjects here were college students not yet experiencing the effects of work and family life. Furthermore, it is clear that most male-dominated careers are tailored to the roles of males within the family structure and are not compatible with the traditional role of females within the family. Therefore, family life itself might be viewed as a barrier to the success of Black and other women in nontraditional careers. More specifically, success in a male-dominated career may require long hours, travel, mobility, etc., and women may not be able to forego household responsibilities to meet these demands. Furthermore, the interruption of work for child raising is often damaging to a career and may even be viewed by colleagues as an indication that a woman is not serious about her career (Bolton and Humphreys, 1977; Dubeck, 1977). Moreover, the relative ease of entry and re-entry into traditional careers as well as the regular hours make traditional professions more compatible with the needs of working women with children. This difference is critical in understanding the conflict experienced by women in nontraditional careers because it suggests that the way nontraditional occupations are

structured increases the role-conflict that women in nontraditional careers experience. This realization led to the hypothesis that nontraditionals will report that family life, i.e., marriage and child-rearing, was more of a barrier to their own career success and that of other Black women pursuing the same goals than to the traditionals' success.

Data concerning the impact of career on the rest of one's life for Black women in nontraditional careers are also relatively unavailable The relationship between family life and career is also germane here. The discussion in the above paragraph dealt with the effect of family life on career. However, the effect of career on family life is an equally important topic. Despite the earlier assertion that Black women consider work and family life compatible, studies of Black women in nontraditional careers have shown that many did not expect to marry (Epstein, 1973a; Epstein, 1973b) and many nontraditionals who were married reported that their careers were causing marital difficulties (Weathers, 1977). These findings led to the hypothesis tested in this study, i.e., married or previously married Black women in nontraditional careers would be more likely than their traditional counterparts to report that their marriages were less happy because of their careers.

Another way in which a career impacts on the rest of one's life is the degree to which it meets or does not meet an individual's personal and socio-emotional needs. Mednick and Puryear (1975) found that Black women in nontraditional careers were more likely to refer to their careers as ideal than traditionals. Again, it must be noted that the

subjects in that study were college students because students might be more idealistic about their career aspirations than women already in these careers. The present study is hypothesizing that, among incumbents, careers in nontraditional areas meet certain needs better while traditional careers meet other needs. Specifically, it was predicted that nontraditionals would be more likely than traditionals to report that their jobs meet needs for professional growth. However, many Black women pursuing nontraditional careers have reported that they not only felt lonely and isolated in their jobs but also have no real support base (Malcom et al., 1976). This led to the speculation that nontraditionals were more likely than traditionals to report that their present job did not meet their needs for peer support.

It should be clarified that none of the hypotheses tested here necessarily assumed that the circumstances for Black and white women are different. No doubt, however, some differences do exist. Nevertheless, past research has shown that the situation for white women in nontraditional and traditional careers is in many ways similar to the situations hypothesized in this research for Black women (Bass et al., 1971; Kanter 1977; Bem & Bem 1970; Bolton & Humphreys 1977; Brenner 1972; Sheehy 1976; Hennig & Jardin, 1977; Zellman, G., 1976). Actually, no black-white differences are implied or tested in this research. Rather, the purpose of the research is to investigate how the experiences of Black women in nontraditional careers differ from the experiences of Black women in traditional careers.

Methods

Subjects

The participants were 144 Black professional women. A list of names was obtained by requesting the directories of various Black professional national organizations. Some organizations actually turned over their directories. However, other organizations preferred to mail the questionnaire out themselves in order not to release confidential information on the members. A questionnaire was sent to every female on the list.

The same criterion used by Tangri (1972) and Mednick & Puryear (1975) for identifying traditional and nontraditional careers was used in this study. Specifically, nontraditional careers were those careers in which fewer than 30 percent of the professionals in that field were women. Traditional careers were those careers in which at least 50 percent of the professionals in the field were women. In actuality, however, no traditional career was included in this study in which fewer than 60 percent of the profession was female. The nontraditional careers included in the study were law, medicine, engineering and science. The traditional careers were social work, teaching, and counseling. The sample included 85 traditional and 48 nontraditionals (11) could not be classified.)

Effort was taken to select organizations representative of Black women in those professions. Those organizations selected were the ones to

which, according to Black female consultants in those professions, a cross-section of Black women from that profession belonged. Furthermore, only those organizations in which every Black woman in that profession was eligible to join were included.

Approximately 240 questionnaires were mailed and 144 were returned. Thus, the response rate was approximately 60 percent.[1]

Procedure

The study was introduced in the cover letter as an investigation of the career experiences of black professional women. Subjects were asked to complete and return the questionnaire which included information on their backgrounds, their current life situation, their plans for the future and their viewpoints on issues related to their careers.

Instruments

The measures included in this study were all specifically designed for this study. Items were checked for clarity by requesting a small group of women (n=10) not in the study to indicate questions that were ambiguous or otherwise unclear. Perceptions about barriers were asked two ways. First, subjects were asked, "Do you think any of the factors below are problems for most Black women seeking to be successful in your particular profession?" The list included racial discrimination, sexual

[1]The exact rate cannot be determined because some organizations did not share how many members they actually had and thus, how many questionnaires they distributed. In these cases the researcher assumed that all questionnaires sent to the organization were distributed. It should be noted that if less than the total was distributed by any organization, the response rate would be higher than indicated above.

discrimination, the attitudes of others in the field about the competency of Black women, lack of social contact with influential people in field, lack of political clout, marriage, and having children. Second, subjects were asked, "Have any of the same factors been a problem for you, personally, in seeking success in your profession?" Responses to each item in each of these two sets included "yes, definitely," "yes, probably," "undecided," "probably not," and "definitely not."

The effect of career on marriage was measured by asking subjects, "How do you think your career has influenced your marriage?" Possible responses included statements that the marriage was much happier, somewhat happier, unaffected, somewhat less happy, and much less happy because of the career.

The other two variables, peer support and professional growth, were measured by asking subjects to indicate how well their present positions met their needs for peer support and for professional growth. Responses included "very often," "often," "sometimes," "seldom," and "practically never." Finally, individuals were asked to indicate their occupation and marital status.

Data Analysis

A Hotelling's T^2-test was used to test the prediction that traditionals and nontraditionals differed on the combined set of variables. A significant T^2 only occurs when the two groups, nontraditionals and traditionals, differ on one or more of the dependent variables. Individual t-tests were then used to test preplanned predictions on differences between

traditionals and nontraditionals. The pooled t statistics were used in those analyses in which the variances for the groups were shown to be equal. In those cases in which the variances differed for the two groups, separate t statistics were computed.

Results

The preliminary analysis demonstrated that traditionals and nontraditionals were different on the combined set of variables (Hotelling's T^2 = 38.13, associated F = 4.42, df = 8,102, p = .00).[2] Subsequent t-tests on the specific hypotheses indicated that traditionals and nontraditionals differed on all but one of the specific hypotheses.

Nontraditionals and traditionals differed on the degree to which all barriers affected their careers. Nontraditionals considered both sex (t (separate) = 5.40, df = 127, 0, p = .00) and race (t (separate) 4.41, df = 128, 3, p = .00) discrimination more of a barrier to their careers than traditionals. Nontraditionals more than traditionals felt that the lack of access to political and social contacts was a barrier to their careers (t (pooled) 2.23, df = 130, p = .028). Nontraditionals also felt that the perception of colleagues that they felt were incompetent was more of a barrier to their careers than traditionals (t (separate) = 3.80, df = 119, 2, p = .00). Nontraditionals also considered marital and family obligations more of a barrier to their careers than traditionals (t (pooled) = 4.78, df = 130, p = .00).

[2]The df is 8,102 rather than 8,125 because of missing data on some items.

Career choice also affected marital happiness. Nontraditionals were more likely than traditionals to report that their marriages were less happy because of their careers (t (pooled) = 2.36, df = 76, p = .021). Several exploratory analyses were conducted to understand the relationship between marriage and career better. The first analyses tested whether there were any differences between traditionals and nontraditionals in marital status. The results showed that there were no significant differences in the marital status of traditionals and nontraditionals (p = .29). The second analyses investigated whether the degree to which the happiness of nontraditionals' marriages were negatively affected by nontraditional careers is related to the number of children they have or the education of their husbands. Only married nontraditionals were included in these two analyses. Again, the results indicated that the effect of career on marital life was not related to the number of children (p = .39) or to whether the husband has as much education as the wife (p = .07).

Nontraditionals reported significantly less support from peers (t (pooled) = 2.16, df = 125, p = .032). However, nontraditionals and traditionals did not differ on the amount of professional growth they received from their present jobs (p = .50).

Discussion

The findings generally supported the prediction that Black women in traditional and nontraditional careers perceived their career experiences

differently. The data also suggested that traditionals and nontraditionals perceived that their careers have different effects on their marital lives and socio-emotional needs.

The findings suggested that the model by Parsons et al. (1976) which identified societal impediments operating to maintain traditional behavior in women is consistent with how Black women also view their circumstances. This conclusion is similar to the constraints suggested by Gurin and Epps (1975) that Black women perceive in making sex-role appropriate choices. Accordingly, Black women who have pursued nontraditional careers have experienced several societal impediments. The most general impediment was discrimination. Black women in nontraditional areas apparently felt they were discriminated against both because of their race and sex. Furthermore, the degree to which they experienced both racial and sexual discrimination was significantly greater than the degree to which their traditional counterparts felt they experienced it. Obviously, members of the higher paying, male-dominated professions were mainly accustomed to working with women and Blacks as subordinates not colleagues. Hence, an individual who is both female and Black may have to overcome all the past stereotypes her mere physical appearance conjures up about the abilities and limitations of both Blacks and women. One implication of the data is to further document the need for affirmative action training not merely for Black women but also for those who are likely to work with Black women in nontraditional careers as colleagues.

The lack of access to political clout and influential social contacts Black women generally have felt they had apparently was also perceived as a barrier to their success in the fields they had chosen. Access to power through political clout or social contact is often made possible because of a mentor relationship with an older, more powerful figure within the organization or profession. Several past researchers have demonstrated that women, especially Black women, in nontraditional careers are very unlikely to have a mentor (Kanter, 1977; Coles and Ballard, 1974; Malcom et al., 1976). One researcher of women in nontraditional professions, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, suggests that organizations might prepare for this reality by creating artificial mentor systems in which potential sponsors are rewarded for developing younger colleagues (Kanter, 1977).

Another impediment that, according to the data, Black women in nontraditional areas have encountered is the perception of incompetency by their colleagues. This perception by their colleagues might lead to the development of special training programs for "new" types to the organization. Oftentimes, entry through these training programs carries a stigma that is extremely difficult to overcome. This perception might also result in reluctance by supervisors to give Black women challenging assignments. Meanwhile, their white male colleagues are growing from having been given these assignments.

The results also suggested that Black women in nontraditional careers did not believe that integrating family life with career

was as uncomplicated for them as it has been assumed. Nontraditionals not only were more likely than traditionals to feel that their marital and family lives affected their career success but also nontraditionals more than traditionals felt their careers negatively affected the happiness of the marriages. This finding was somewhat contradictory to other studies that suggested that Black women (even nontraditionals) did not believe that family life affected career success (Gurin and Gaylord, 1975; Burlew and Johnson, 1978). This seeming contradiction may be explained by examining the sample compositions of the various studies. Those studies that suggested no incompatibility between career and marriage mainly involved college students, and studies that suggested incompatibility involved women already in their professions. It may be that Black females in college anticipate no problems, but once they become employed and get married, the problems begin to surface.

The suggestion that a career in a nontraditional field interfered with marital accord and that family life may have been a barrier to career success in nontraditional careers led to further analyses to better understand this relationship. Since children add additional responsibilities to couples' lives, it was decided to test whether or not the presence of children in the family accounted for the complications of career and marriage among traditionals. However, the results showed that nontraditionals with children did not perceive their marriage any less happy because of their careers than nontraditionals

without children. The relationship of the husband's education to marital accord among nontraditionals was also considered. Although the hypothesis that nontraditionals whose husbands had less education than themselves would report that their marriages were less happy because of their careers than nontraditionals whose husbands had equal or more education than themselves approaches significance ($p < .07$), the study offered no evidence to support this difference. All these findings suggested that, even if children or less educated husbands complicated the marriage, it was the career demands that were primarily responsible for the negative impact of a nontraditional career choice on marriage.

Given the difficulties of combining marriage and a demanding career, another question being considered was whether women in higher paying, more prestigious occupations (nontraditionals) were less likely to marry than traditionals. The findings suggested that marriage was equally common among nontraditionals and traditionals. This finding further supported both the theory that Black women are not deciding against marriage when they choose nontraditional careers and also the theory that Black women do not significantly reduce their chances of marriage when they pursue prestigious careers, perhaps because of their willingness to marry men in less prestigious positions (Gurin and Gaylord, 1975). Earlier studies reaching this same conclusion (Gurin and Gaylord, 1975; Burlew and Johnson, 1978) differed from the present one not only because they had college women as their

subjects but also because they focused on the perceptions of these women about the likely effects of their future careers on marriage. The present study offered evidence that the perceptions of young women still aspiring for careers that their chances for marriage will not be lowered by selecting nontraditional careers are consistent with what actually happens to Black women who enter these careers.

The data also suggested that Black women in nontraditional careers were less likely than traditionals to receive the support they needed from their peers. This difference may be due to the scarcity of Black female colleagues in nontraditional professions. Kanter (1977) argued that scarce members of larger organizations often are distributed throughout the organization as tokens and, consequently, do not have other scarce members to go to for support. Kanter added that the pressures and pains of being the "token" are so great that organizations might do better clustering these individuals in one unit rather than dispersing them. Clustering or any similar plan that would offer a better chance for a Black female nontraditional to develop supportive peer relationship with other Black female nontraditionals may build the amount of peer support these women receive.

The prediction that Black women in nontraditional careers would report that their careers offered more chances for professional growth than traditionals was not supported. This finding was somewhat surprising especially given the earlier finding by Mednick and Puryear (1975) that nontraditionals were more likely than traditionals to

consider their occupations ideal. At lease two speculations can be offered to explain this incongruency. First, the subjects in the Mednick and Puryear study (1975) were aspiring to their careers and, therefore, might have been focusing on more tangible aspects of their career (e.g. salary) rather than on professional growth when they spoke of the degree to which their chosen careers were ideal. Second, one could argue that, even though traditionals and nontraditionals are about equally satisfied with the amount of professional growth their careers allow, that does not necessarily mean they are receiving the same amount. One might speculate that nontraditionals place more emphasis on career than traditionals and thus need or desire more opportunities for professional growth than traditionals. If this assumption were true, it is quite possible that, even though traditionals received less, they were just as satisfied as nontraditionals with the amount they received.

One potential criticism of the study is the method by which subjects were obtained. However, survey studies of this type often cannot match the rigid selection procedures of laboratory studies. As mentioned earlier, effort was taken to insure that the organizations chosen were representative of black women in the respective professions.

In conclusion, the results support the argument that Black women in traditional and nontraditional fields perceive their career experiences differently. Apparently Black women feel they encounter impediments to their career success when they break out of traditional career roles.

These barriers include both sexual and racial discrimination, lack of political clout and social contact, perceptions of colleagues that they are not competent, and familial obligations. Black women who enter nontraditional careers also are more likely than traditionals to report that their marriages are less happy because of their careers. The primary impact of a nontraditional career on marriage does not appear to be related to the presence of children or the education of the husband, but to the demands of the career itself. Finally, the nontraditional career, probably because of its isolation, does not offer the Black woman as much peer support as the traditional career.

Many unanswered questions remain that might be the focus of future research. The husband's role as a buffer or catalyst of female role conflict in nontraditional careers certainly needs more attention. The relationship between the husband's own education and marital accord among nontraditionals approached significance in this study. This result suggests the need to investigate this issue further before discounting its role in marital happiness in relationships involving Black nontraditional women. Similarly, even though there was no evidence that the number of children affected marital happiness, it may be that the age of the children or even the age of the woman herself may be related to marital happiness among nontraditionals. Finally, more attention needs to be given to identifying potential sources of support for Black women in nontraditional careers as well as to identifying the mechanisms Black women in nontraditional careers use to cope with the stresses inherent in their positions.

References

Bass, B. M., J. Krusell, and R. A. Alexander. "Male Manager's Attitudes Toward Working Women." American Behavioral Scientist, Nov. 1971 15 (2) 221-236.

Bem, S. D. and D. J. Bem."Case Study of a Nonconscious Ideology. Training the Woman to Know Her Place." In D. J. Bem (Ed.), Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs. Belmont, California: Brooks/Cole,1970.

Bolton, E. B. and L. W. Humphreys. "A Training Model for Women--An Androgynous Approach." Personnel Journal, May 1977, 230-234.

Brenner, M. "Management Development for Women." Personnel Journal, March 1972, 51, 165-167.

Burlew, K. H., and Johnson, J. "Black Females' Pursuit of Traditional and Nontraditional Careers." Paper submitted for publication.

Coles, I., and A. Ballard. "As Six of Them See It: Black Women Executives Discuss Their Lives and Careers." Black Enterprise, August 1974, 5 (1), 20-23, 640-41.

Dubeck, P. "Recruiting College Graduates into Industrial Management: Problems with the Use of Male-Dominated Models." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association, Chicago, September 1977.

Epstein, Cynthia. "Black and Female: The Double Whammy." Psychology Today, August 1973a 1 (3), 57-61.

Epstein, C. "Positive Effects of the Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women," Joan Huber (Ed.) Changing Women in a Changing Society, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973(b).

Gurin, P. and E. Epps. Black Consciousness, Identity and Achievement. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1975.

Gurin, P., and C. Gaylord. "Sex-Role Constraints: The College-Educated Black Women." Unpublished paper, 1975, Institute of Social Research, The University of Michigan.

Henning, M., and A. Jardin. The Managerial Woman. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1977.

Kahne, H. "Women in the Professions: Career Considerations and Job Placement Techniques," Journal of Economic Issues, September 1971, 33-45.

Kanter, R. M. Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Ladner, J. "The Black Woman Today." Ebony, May 1977, 32, (10), 33-42.

Malcom, S. H., P. Q. Hall and J. W. Brown. "The Double-Bind: The Price of Being a Minority Woman in Science"(AAAS Report No. 76-R-3). Washington, D. C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, April 1976.

Mednick, M., and G. Puryear. "Motivational and Personality Factors Related to Career Goals of Black College Women," Journal of Social and Behavioral Science, 1975, 21 (1), 1-30.

Parsons, J., I. Freize and D. Ruble. "Editorial Introduction to Issues," Journal of Social Issues, 1976, 43 (3), 1-5.

Sheehy, G. "The Mentor Connection: The Secret Link in a Successful Woman's Life." New York, April 15, 1976.

Tangri, S. "Determinants of Occupational Role Innovation among College Women,"Journal of Social Issues, 1972, 28 (1), 177-200.

U. S. Department of Commerce. "Detailed Characteristics of the Population," Bureau of the Census, 1970, Vol. 1, Part 1, U. S. Summary Section.

Weathers, Diane. "The Working Woman and the Men in Her Life," Black Enterprise. August 1977, 8 (1), 14-17 & 50.

Zellman, G. "The Role of Structural Factors in Limiting Women's Institutional Participation," The Journal of Social Issues, 1976, 32 (3), 33-46.

Political and Economic Roles of Academic Black Women

Olga Welch
with
Joyce Jones

Research Presenter

Dr. Olga Welch is Assistant Professor of Special Education and Rehabilitation at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She has previously served as a supervising teacher at the Tennessee School for the Deaf and an Administrative Intern at the University of Tennessee. A young researcher, Dr. Welch has concentrated her research interest on the Black Academic Woman. She serves on the Chancellors Commission for Blacks and is the Chairman of the Commission's Affirmative Action.

The paper presented is co-authored by Dr. Joyce Jones, Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Tennessee.

I wish I knew how
It would feel to be Black
Not act like or be like
But be black--Black without having to prove Black
Sky don't act blue
Grass don't have to
Kick (behind) to prove it's green
Oranges don't have to define the behavioral characteristics of oranges

White knows white. There's pure White, light white, no conscientious make-up, let's pretend--just is--because they say so.
They have cleanliness and godliness behind them--but *is* because they say so.

I wish I knew how it would feel to *be* Black
So that I could stand undressed, bold and silent, and *be* *black*--
Just because *I* *am*

So black I wouldn't have to be beautiful
So black I could *hide my pride*
So black I could *anti* or *pro* whatever I feel
So black I could *believe* I was *Black* for real.
Real Black so that I could know--and know I knew how it feels--*really feels* to be *me*.[1]

Traditionally, non-Blacks have tried to define Black women; consequently there are many prevalent and dangerous myths and misconceptions about who the Black woman really is. As the opening poem suggests, Blacks and Black women even more so have been defined as an "other" or only in reference to something or someone else. Women have been defined only in reference to men, their identities inevitably determined and influenced by the male referent. Consequently, women

have had only identities or rights granted through this definition--a definition which while enhancing the significance of the reference group, dehumanized the self-image of "the other", analogous to the very early erroneous description and treatment by male physicians of "hysteria" as a female illness involving a wandering uterus (Veith, 1965).

The oppressive effect of this process is clearly evidenced by the negligible number of women in positions of economic and social authority. A group cannot develop leadership ability when it is relegated to powerless positions. Several studies by women of the corporate structure suggest that while the socialization process of males prepares them to occupy managerial or administrative roles (e.g., competitive sports), that same process prepares their female counterparts to occupy more traditional ones. These roles have produced a correspondingly negative self-image. For white women, this image was sexual, for Black woman, it was both sexual and racial. Thus, any discussion of the professional Black woman must be a discussion of the twin barriers of race and sex on career opportunities. Indeed, for the American Black professional female the situation is one of double jeopardy.

Historical Perspectives

Early in our history the political and economic institution of slavery reduced the role of the African Black woman, and she found herself subjected to several kinds of mental and physical abuse. The literary portrayal (e.g., Walker, 1966) of the Black woman during

slavery depicted her as a "hard" woman who somehow "adjusted" and/or resisted her predetermined role in society (Katz, 1962). Somehow through the years this image of the Black woman as a hard, overly aggressive, superstrong sexpot has continued to taunt her. Whether grounded in reality or not, the psychological burden of living with this image and yet struggling to maintain one's identity has been a burden even the contemporary Black woman continues to bear. Through Emancipation, Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Movement, and the "Black is Beautiful" Era of the 60's, the Black woman has "survived." Surely the psychological "defense mechanisms" of Black women have helped them through these historical periods both physically and psychologically--but in what state and at what expense?

We hear "rumors" constantly of the growing problems of the "new career Black woman" and can only speculate whether Black women are also doomed to the "ulcer syndrome" of the working white male. Of course, Black women have not yet reached the salary level of the average white male, and their history of educational attainment and employment has been characterized by debilitating restrictions since slavery.

Often the Black woman has been accused (however unjustly) of retarding the progress of the Black man in her own selfish pursuits of self-improvement and economic security. An old oft-cited myth which has also survived suggests that Black women are better educated than Black men, having received their education at the expense of

Black men and being less threatening to the dominant power structure. The existing evidence, however, seems to suggest that Black women have not been better educated than Black men across the board. Recent reports (1974) on the educational attainment of Blacks indicate that Black women are more likely than Black men to complete high school. However, of greater importance is the fact that Black women are less likely than Black men to obtain advanced degrees, which are the real measures of educational superiority (Jackson, 1973; Scott, 1977; U.S. Bureau of Census, 1974).

If being better educated is also related to greater access to employment opportunities, then it becomes clear that Black women are far behind. Patricia Scott (1977) provides convincing evidence in support of this argument. Indeed, it appears that as a result of living in a racist and sexist society some Black women receiving a college education are even more restricted than males:

> Black women are members of two oppressed groups, and data from the U.S. Bureau of Census (1974) seem to indicate that they suffer severely from racism and sexism in the labor market. The median income for Black women is $2,806, this amount being lower than the median incomes of White women, Black men and White men. Black women also seem to be concentrated in low-paying, service-oriented or white collar jobs (such as secretarial clerk) which offer minimal benefits and few opportunities for advancement or further training.[2]

Despite these educational and employment deficiencies, the Black woman in America has "survived" with her thirst for enterprise and economic security unquenched.

The Professional Black Woman:

The Horatio Alger "rags-to-riches" theme has been the cornerstone of the "American Dream." Education and the Protestant Ethic are touted as the means through which minorities can achieve both economic and social parity with whites. Thus when Blacks echo these themes, sexual identity is not significant. In the past a college education and increased job opportunities were seen as the way to escape the traditional "domestic's" limitations. Indeed, for many years this was the case inasmuch as even the marginal forms of employment, like clerking in department stores, were for "whites only." In fact, for many decades a Black woman's choice was to teach or become a maid (Noble, 1978).

The lessening of discrimination in jobs allowed Black women to enter professions formerly closed to them. In pursuing careers, these women realized that whether single or married, they would need work. The benefits of a "middle class" lifestyle could be earned only in the occupational world, most often in partnership with a mate, most probably alone at some times in their lives, but as certain as the ancient African mother's admonition to her daughters, "You are beautiful, but you cannot eat your looks, you must learn to work," American Black women too have had to work for what they got (Noble, 1978). Although white women have traditionally evaluated their self-worth through their husbands' occupation and status , for Black women a job has always been an economic necessity.

Many Black women attempt to "make it" through college degrees, a good job, and promotion. However, the acquisition of a better job is not without its costs. The college degree and/or the "good" job place the Black professional female in a category called "middle class" and expose her to a life-style which separates her from 70 percent of all other Blacks (Noble, 1978). As a supposed rarity, she is likely to be sociologically analyzed, and publicly touted as one of a growing number of Blacks who "made it," thus winning the enmity of a growing number of whites who see her success as occurring at their expense. Furthermore, the very assertiveness and tenacity which account for her entry into prestigious corporate, university, and administrative positions as well as "the high councils of government" will all too often earn her the label "matriarch," with all of its negative connotations:

> Some black women in nontraditional professions feel the pressure to be "super blacks" and "super woman." According to Carroll in 1973: a function by tacit formula followed by all black women who wish to succeed in a man's (both black and white) world: you must be better qualified than the men. You must be more articulate. You must be more aggressive. You must have more stamina to face inevitable setbacks. You must have more patience, since you will advance more slowly. Above all, you must remain feminine and not appear threatening. I have found that black women share these dicta with white women. However, black women have an extra step in the syllogism which white women do not have; that is that they must also be better than white women. It is this "extra step" or the expectation that a black woman must be better than black men, white men and white women which creates an enormous psychological burden for black women.[3]

Thus, any discussion of the professional Black woman is a discussion of the twin barriers of race and sex as they affect career opportunities. Perhaps nowhere is the position of double jeopardy more strikingly illustrated than in the area of administration. Traditionally both Blacks and white women have been excluded from leadership positions on the basis of ascribed characteristics and stereotyped status, leaving the impression that neither could occupy any significantly powerful position in society. Thus, the independent, career-oriented Black woman represented a contradiction in terms, which must be denigrated. Her aggressiveness and ambition, normally highly desirable administrative traits, had to be re-defined so that they bore negative rather than positive connotations. The "macho" Black woman with her unfeminine assertiveness is one product of this labeling process. In addition, some researchers have suggested that many of the problems faced by women executives stem from the dominant group's assertion that only domineering unfeminine women aspire to positions unsuited to their "natures" (Henning, 1976). Whether one accepts this premise or not, such research would suggest that role definition by white men of both Blacks and women has resulted in under-representation in leadership positions.

In her book Academic Women, Jesse Bernard (1969) discusses the theory and practice of discrimination in the academic community. She states that discrimination can be either autonomous or judgmental when

related to competition for positions. "In the first, the process itself selects the 'winner;' in the second, a human being or committee of human beings does."[4] The "academic plums" in the world of the university are presumably distributed on the basis of merit as a criterion. It is "judges," however, who determine who is hired. Caplow and McGhee have analyzed these criteria at various institutions. Such criteria range from the rather stringent standards found at Harvard, which canvasses the field looking for the best representatives of any academic discipline, to the more subjective idiosyncrasies of some insecure administrators. They reported sex to be one criterion which militated against women (Caplow and McGhee, 1958).

Judgmental competition, according to Bernard, implies the existence of criteria by which to assess competitors. Peter Blau et al. in their article "Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework" (1956) discussed the functional and nonfunctional prerequisites for any position. Functional prerequisites include intelligence, education, and the satisfaction of certain legal requirements. These usually cannot be quarreled with.

On the other hand, when additional criteria are utilized, it becomes difficult to determine whether or not they are functional or have some more subjective basis. Thus, even though a good case can often be made for the functionality of any specific criterion in the selection of staff, on occasion it is a screen or rationalization for prejudice (Blau, 1956). It is such rationalizations which have

traditionally been utilized to exclude Blacks and females. Bernard argues further that by "an intrinsic sociological mechanism prejudiced discrimination, tends always to make the best competitors its victims."[5] If, therefore, Black women cannot be eliminated on the basis of functional criteria such as qualifications, skills, or training, then often "prejudiced discrimination" is employed. It is then that race, sex, or both are utilized as eliminators--the criterion or criteria of rejection. The unique problems posed by race and sex, therefore, are the subject to which this study addresses itself. Through a review of the social-academic characteristics of professional Black women in a university setting, the effects of dual discrimination are examined.

Statement of the Problem:

Because of the psychological consequences of having lived in a sexually and racially oppressive society, it is important to investigate demographic variables as possible correlates of high achievement.

In this study we are interested in surveying Black professional women in an effort to distinguish unique similarities and differences among them. Traditionally sociocultural influences have been instrumental in the Black woman's development, and thus an investigation of such is essential. The current study was a pilot effort designed to gather data for a more intensive study currently in preparation.*

Method:

Eleven Black women Ph.D.'s and Ed. D.'s were identified in the Knoxville area. Questionnaires were mailed requesting their participation in the survey. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured the respondents and a statement of such was attached to the survey. Six of the eleven Black women completed and returned their questionnaires.

Results:

From the six women who completed and returned the survey, the following information was obtained. (For the purpose of discussion, the respondents will be referred to as numbers 1 through 6 throughout the rest of the paper.)

1. All of the respondents were from the South.
2. All of the women came from an urban orientation.
3. All of the women were of the Protestant religion, and for the most part they were of the same religious families.
4. Parental education:

   3 - this family had a post-graduate education.

   4 - these parents completed grammar school.

   1 - these parents had some high school.

   5, 2, 6 - completed high school and had some college.
5. Parental Occupation:

   All of the respondents' parents had occupations that could be considered community service related.

6. Parents or Guardians:

   Two of the fathers were not present, and the rest of the respondents came from homes where both parents were present.

7. Parental Income Levels:

   Two of the respondents had mothers who made below $7,000 per year. Three of the respondents had mothers who made between $7,000 and $14,000 per year.

8. Parent Information:

   All of the respondents had mothers and fathers when they were born, and their parents were between 18 and 30 years of age.

9. Number of Siblings in the Family:

   3 - was an only child

   2, 4 - had one sibling

   6 - had nine siblings

   1 - had five siblings

   5 - had three siblings

   In other words, three of the respondents came from small families (one sibling or less).

10. Each respondent listed the most significant member of her family as follows:

    4, 1, 5, 3, - both parents

    2 - the mother

    6 - the grandmother

11. The respondents were asked whether or not they felt their treatment differed from that of their siblings, and they responded as follows:

    6, 4, 1, 3 - No difference

2 - Some difference in that her brother was the more favored.

5 - Yes, because she was used as a role model for her other siblings.

In summary, all of the respondents were from an urban, southern, Protestant orientation. Their parents' educational backgrounds were diversified; however, for the most part all of the respondents' parents had attended some school. Parental occupation was predominantly in community service related jobs (i.e., the ministry, nursing, or teaching). Parental income was also diversified, but for the most part mothers made more than fathers. It is important to note that this fact did not alter the selection of the "significant" member of the family in that the majority of the respondents reported both parents as "significant." The respondents were all born of relatively young parents (18 through 30), a fact seeming to indicate that, for this sample, Black parents tend to have children fairly early. The respondents perceived no difference in their treatment than in that of other siblings; however, in two cases one family member was considered more "significant" whereas another respondent herself was the "significant" member and was considered a "role model" for other siblings. Interestingly enough, the respondents differed noticeably in their perceptions of feminism and on competition. The more experienced respondents did not identify at all with feminism and perceived all racial and sexual groups as potential competitors. In addition, these women identified some of their problems in the

university community as racially rather than sexually inspired.

Conversely, the younger respondents would not distinguish between racially and sexually motived problems. Indeed, these women perceived discrimination as dually inspired. In addition, these women identified much more with feminist issues.

Although the study provided information about a small group of professional Black women, it did reveal the necessity for additional research in the area. Little has been written about the Black woman in administrative positions, nor has much research concerned itself with the professional Black woman in academia. It is these issues to which future research should address itself.

Black women represent over 50% of the total Black population, and as they confront social and economic obstacles in the labor market, it becomes imperative to speak to solutions. The problem of differential achievement necessitates a consideration of specific solutions. Therefore, we outline specific hypotheses regarding future research and goals which would enhance the psychological and educational development of more positive racial and sexual images.

First of all, women have traditionally been defined by others--literature confirms this. The negative impact of this process has been discussed earlier in this paper. We contend that women, especially Black women (i. e., in M. Wallace's fashion), should assertively include themselves in this "defining" process. We therefore encourage research by and about women. For our own insight and

potentially for aid in the social development of future female offsprings, women need to be involved in a process of self-examination and consequently self-revelation and self-definition.

We also encourage research by and about professional women and women who assume non-traditional roles in society. Too often research has dealt with low-income, non-professional women and has emphasized the negative aspects of such roles. The day of the "dumb blonde" or "Aunt Jemima" should be long past; however, the media warn us weekly that male sexual and racial stereotypes are alive and well and continue to be perpetuated and reinforced.

Along this same line we discourage comparative research using men as a reference group. We rather encourage researchers to investigate differences within the sex (e.g., different socioeconomic status, professions, races, birth orders, significant others in one's social development, etc.). It would seem that such variables are much more likely to provide insight into the social inequities of life than to pretend that it is reasonable to compare men and women developmentally. We can begin to tackle these social inequities only after they are identified. Inasmuch as it appears obvious that socially girls experience life differently from boys, we need to focus more on developmental research -- begun at an early age to focus more on processes, determining how they are developed initially at home and later influenced by teachers and other significant persons in early life.

Reinforcement among young men of the traditionally socially

"positive" attributes of aggressiveness and tenacity and the reinforcement either overtly or covertly of such characteristics as passivity and indecisiveness among young women, discourage the development of the necessary attributes of a "successful" business professional and/or leader in our society.

The last hypothesis involves the development of educational programs which encourage and prepare women for employment in non-traditional occupations. Such programs could begin in kindergarten and be incorporated throughout high school in various forms (e.g., in kindergarten with play toys and in high school in already established vocational programs). In addition, as a part of this academic training, we encourage the development of leadership models for women which could be easily incorporated into the educational programs suggested above. Certainly these programs will have to be initiated early in academic training. A complete reexamination of our current school systems and traditional programs is absolutely mandatory at this time if we are even to begin to deal effectively with social and educational inequities currently inherent in the American socialization process. Further, a careful examination of racial and sexual stereotypes and their perpetuation in this society is also necessary.

Educational Goals

Social change is activated more readily by an educated public. This requires a reevaluation of our American system of education,

which cannot occur without a redefinition of education goals. First, the time is past for examination of our current public school textbooks. The revision of textbook material which is insensitive to sexual images must be actively encouraged, supported, and carried out. Children are exposed at an early age to texts which contain potentially dangerous racial and sexual stereotypes. Secondly, in educational institutions the use of play and toys which have usually involved demeaning feminine roles must be discontinued. Because these procedures necessitate a change in attitude amongst teachers and administrators, we suggest workshops for children and educators -- including such tasks as role play and role rehearsal.

Another important goal is the participation on the part of academia and businesses in programs offering women more non-traditional occupational choices and the establishment of academic planning mechanisms for non-traditional professions in which women are currently underrepresented. This procedure could begin in the elementary grades as counselors suggest necessary academic prerequisites for these non-traditional occupations (i.e., early career counseling). This, of course, would necessitate the re-training and additional training of career counselors to facilitate the adequate assistance of young women in the making of well-informed decisions. We would also encourage training sessions/workshops for executives and administrators in businesses to deal with and hopefully facilitate their sensitivity to affirmative action and their ability to work with

women in these new non-traditional roles. In this way the possibility of a more realistic support of affirmative action would be enhanced.

Lastly, we encourage the general public to organize and form task forces which would place pressure on the vehicles of public communication (e. g., the media, literature, popular newspapers and magazines, etc.) in order to influence effectively sexual and racial images vital to a more positive depiction and hopefully increased understanding of women, particularly Black women.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Lindamichellebaron. I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel.

[2]Scott, P. Preparing Black women for nontraditional professions: Some consideration for career counseling, p. 136.

[3]Ibid, p. 4.

[4]Bernard, Academic Woman. p. 45.

[5]Ibid, p. 49.

References

Baldwin, J. "Theory and Research Concerning the Notion of Black Self-hatred: A Review and Reinterpretation". Journal of Black Psychology, Vol. 5, #2, February, 1979.

Bernard, Jesse. Academic Women. New York: New American Library, 1964.

Blau, Peter N., J. W. Gustad, R. Jessar, R. S. Parnes, and R. C. Wilcock." Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework". Industrial Labor Realtions Review, 9 (1956).

Caplow, Theodore, and Reece J. McGhee. The Academic Marketplace. New York: Basic Books, 1958.

Chafe, W. H. Women and Equality: Changing Patterns in American Culture. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Chesler, Phyllis. Women and Madness. New York: Avon Publishing Co., 1972.

Clark, K. B. "Skin color as a factor in racial identification of Negro preschool children." Journal of Social Psychology, 1940, 11, 159-169.

Clark, K. B. " Racial identification and preference in Negro children". In: T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (eds), Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1947.

Franklin, J. H. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans. New York: Knopf, 1967.

Hanson, B. "Black Process in Clinically Depressed Women: A Conceptual Framework for Practice." Clinical Social Work Journal, 2, #3, 1974.

Hening, M. and Jardin, A. The Managerial Woman. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976.

Hraba, J." The Doll Technique: A measure of racial ethnocentricism? " Social Forces, 1972, 50, 522-527.

Hraba, J. and Grant, G. " Black is Beautiful: A reexamination of racial preference and identification." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1970, 16, (3), 398-402.

Jackson, J. J. "Black Women in Racist Society". In Racism and Mental Health. Edited by Charles V. Willie, Bernard M. Kramer and Bertram S. Brown. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburg Press, 1973.

Katz, M. W. She Who Would be Free -- Resistance. Freedomways, 2, (Winter), 1962, 60-70 (a).

_____"The Negro Woman and the Law". Freedomways, 2 (Summer, 1962), 278-86. (b)

Korda, M. Male Chauvinism: How It Works. New York: Ballantine Books, 1979.

Lerner, G. Black Women in White America. New York: Pantheon, 1972.

Moynihan, D. P. The Negro Family: A Case for National Action. Washington, D. C. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

Noble, J. L. "The American Negro Women." In: The American Negro Reference Book. Edited by J. P. Davis, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

_____, Beautiful Also Are the Souls of my Black Sisters. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978.

Nobles, W. "Psychological Research and the Black Self-Concept: A critical review." Journal of Social Issues, 1973, 29 (1), 11-31.

Scott, P. "Preparing Black Women for Nontraditional Professions: Some considerations for career counseling." Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, (Summer), 1977, 40, 135.

Veith, Ilza, Hysteria: The History of a Disease. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Walker, M. Jubilee. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1966.

Wallace, M. Black Macho and the Myth of the Super Woman. New York: Dial Press, 1977.

Political Socialization of Black Women State Legislators

Jewel Limar Prestage

Research Presenter

Dr. Jewel Limar Prestage is Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Political Science at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. She is the author of more than twenty publications on the "Political Socialization of Blacks and Political Education." She is Chairperson of the Louisiana State Advisory Commission to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and Acting President of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dr. Prestage is the co-author of "Styles of Marginality: Women State Legislators in Race, Sex, and Policy Problems."

The political involvement of Black women has varied in keeping with the varying historical conditions which have characterized the American experience. Essentially, for the Black woman political activity has consisted of utilizing whatever position she occupied for political purposes as access to traditional political structures and processes that had been, in the main, closed to her. Neither Black Reconstruction nor woman suffrage victories provided voter participation rewards for Black women.

During the period of slavery Black slave women as well as those who were free involved themselves in the fight for abolition in numerous ways. The slave woman was a central figure in the slave community and the political significance of this status made her a special target for the master class. For example, rape of slave women was viewed as both a physical blow and a political blow to the slave community, especially to slave men.[1] Through the assertion of control over this critically important personage the master hoped to sensitize the Black man to his inability to defend his women and thereby create deep-seated doubts about his ability to resist in any way.

Slave women engaged in violent and nonviolent actions against

the slave system. Records of slave revolts, poisonings, burning of houses and barns, beatings and slayings indicate that women were active in these forms of violence and resistance. Many women would kill their unborn or newborn children rather than permit them to enter the world as slaves. During the Civil War Black women assisted in the military effort as nurses, laundry women and scouts. Women like Harriett Tubman were active in the Underground Railroad, and many free Black women joined the Abolitionist Movement, purchased freedom for slaves and lent their talents as writers and lecturers to the cause.[2]

Reconstruction provided Black men opportunities for widespread political participation as voters and officeholders. Although Black women were prevented from similar participation, they found means of influencing the activities of their men. One white southern politician reported that Black women followed their men from morning to night around Louisiana demanding that they vote Republican and that they formed a large segment of those present at political assemblages.[3] Further, Black women have been credited with organizing and promoting many of the exoduses from the South into the Midwest.

When Southern white control was restored in the Confederate states, forms of political oppression were instituted to deprive Blacks of their political and civil rights. Most dehumanizing among these forms was perhaps lynching. Anti-lynch agitation activity involved several outstanding women. About their anti-lynch work William

Chafe writes, "Black women initially defined the problem, set out to act on it and in one way or another compelled a white response."[4] Women were also among the founders of the NAACP and themselves started women's organizations at the national and local levels, aimed at upgrading the political, social and economic conditions of Black people. The era between the end of the Civil War and the early 1960's was one of very limited Black political participation in the traditional sense. However, the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1950's and early 1960's ushered in a period of widespread Black involvement in protest politics. Research on the movement reveals, almost without exception, female participation in all aspects. This statement will be expanded later in this presentation.

Passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act marked the first opportunity for the total population of Black women to become politically active in a traditional sense. Almost two centuries after the Declaration of Independence and one century after the Civil War, the basic right of the franchise was finally extended to this nation's citizens who happened to be Black and female.

The purpose of this two-part study is to (1) review extant literature on the political socialization and participation of Black women in American politics and (2) to provide a profile of an elite group of Black women political activists --Black women state legislators.

Methodology

An examination of the literature on the political involvement of Black women is undertaken in Part I. This examination focused on both traditional and nontraditional political behavior.

Data utilized in Part II were obtained principally through interviews with the legislators, ranging from 45 minutes to 2½ hours. In addition, printed materials were supplied by legislative research agencies in the states and biographical and other printed information made available by the legislators' offices. Newspapers, periodicals, statistical data and professional literature were also consulted.

Between 1971 and 1974, 35 Black women served in American state legislatures. The sample on which this study is based includes 32 of these lawmakers. Most of the 32 women (28) were in the lower house with only 4 in the upper house.

The 60-item interview schedule solicited information on geographic origin, age, marital status, family size, education, occupation, family background, interest in politics, political experience, basis for contesting for legislative seat, and character of campaign for office. Further, respondents were probed as to perceptions of role, policy priorities, quantity of bills introduced, committee assignments, relations with other legislators, and an assessment of their work as legislators. Other areas of concern were attitudes

toward the Women's Liberation Movement, future plans and political ambition, perceptions of the future of Blacks and women in the political arena, and views on the liabilities and assets of women in elective office.

Part I

Review of Literature

Although the Black female is the central focus of much of the social science literature on Black America, only minor attention has been devoted to her role in the political arena. Early neglect of this area could be attributed to absence of women in political circles. However, neglect is also reflected in the recent rash of scholarly publications under the separate rubrics of Black Politics and Women in Politics. It has been suggested that tensions created by efforts to study the politics of the Black female in the equality movements (both Black and women) have perhaps been partially responsible for limited research effort. Frequently, the suggestion that Black women deserve attention as a special case in the study of the politics of Blacks or the politics of women is almost certain to evoke, at minimum, some question relative to the motive for such separate inquiry.

Works on the Black female selected for review in this section deal with political socialization, nontraditional political activity and political activity.

Political socialization refers to the process by which individuals acquire their political information, values and behavior patterns. In probing sexual differences in political behavior and attitudes of adults, one of the widely offered explanations has been the sexual differences in childhood political socialization patterns. Research findings indicate that Black Americans tend to relate to the American system in a manner different from that of white Americans. Overall, Blacks display a higher level of cynicism and distrust and a lower level of political efficacy. Among Black children very little evidence has been found to indicate differences along sex lines.[5]

The family is one of, if not the, most important agents of political socialization and therefore, a large portion of the literature has been directed toward the family unit. Dominant in such literature on the Black family has been the "matriarchy thesis". However, no major differences have been reported among Black American children on the basis of whether or not the father lived in the home. In a related research development, however, some interesting findings have been generated about the comparative influences of mothers and fathers in the transmission of political values to American children. These findings suggest that if mothers did once occupy a subordinate role in the process, this role has started to change.[6] Also, it may be noted that a sufficient body of research has built up in opposition to the "matriarchy thesis". For example, John Shelton Reed and

Herbert Hyman contend that there is no more evidence to suggest a matriarchal pattern for the Black family than for the white family.[7]

Robert Hill, in a rather different view, has suggested five strengths of the Black family. These strengths refer to the special values and conditions which have characterized the Black family over time and which have permitted it to survive and prosper in the face of a hostile environment. Identified as strengths are these:

a. strong kinship bonds,
b. strong work orientation,
c. adaptability of family roles,
d. strong achievement orientation, and
e. strong religious orientation.[8]

This emphasis on positive aspects of Black family life is very limited among social scientists.

When we turn attention to Black women's involvement in non-traditional political activities, a state of affairs which has persisted over almost the total period of their experiences in America, some interesting patterns are discovered. Earlier in this presentation reference has been made to the activities of Black women in the slave, Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras. More recent involvement in such activities has been reported.

Widespread female participation is revealed in the investigations of protest activity of Black college students in the 1960's. Strong female participatory orientations have apparently persisted over time as evidenced by occurrences on at least two campuses experiencing killings of students by police. In one case a male student, testifying

about the incident in which two Black male students were shot down by police, estimated that well over half of the students in the area at the time were female. Matthews and Prothro state that 48 percent of the students who personally took part in sit-ins were female at a time when females made up 57 percent of the enrollment.[9]

In a later study of adult Blacks in New Orleans, the principal findings were

1. Only minimal overall variations exist in the volume of protest and traditional participation of Black men and women;
2. There is a higher association between protest and traditional participation among women than among men;
3. In both protest and traditional behavior lower-class women participate more than lower-class men when income is used as the measure of class, whereas educational and occupational controls for status result in mixed findings;
4. Black women have less positive feelings about the political system than Black men; and
5. Beliefs about the political system are more important predictors (higher correlates) of levels of participation for women than for men.[10]

Inez Reid's Together" Black Women[11], a study of Black women with a reputation in the community for "militancy" yielded at least five fundamental findings:

1. The adoption of the concept "together" as a substitute for "militant"
2. The feeling of "together" Black women that their interests are almost diametrically opposed to those of the women's liberation movement;
3. The gross disenchantment of "together" Black women with

national and local political and social conditions in the United States;

4. The willingness of "together" Black women to embrace violence as the only viable solution to Black oppression; and

5. The "state of limbo" in which many "together" Black women find themselves while awaiting the next stage of the Black struggle.

In Professor Reid's in-depth and perceptive study, "militant" was discarded as an "alien phenomenon imposed on the Black community." "Together" was adopted as a term which connotes "having one's mind free of confusion, to be positive, functional, to emerge as a whole person." "Togetherness" is further characterized by a spiritual closeness in a common endeavor to erase oppression and a refusal to take uncritically the total value structure of the white community. A profile of the "together" Black woman is that of one who is relatively comfortable in economic terms, relatively young, apolitical in the traditional sense, semi-religious, working at a variety of jobs, exposed to some college education and possessed of a high degree of Black or social consciousness. Further, she is committed to the Black struggle, involved, selfless, fearless, and confident.

Black women grassroots organizers like Fannie Lou Hamer and Victoria Dee Lee are legends!

William Chafe attributes to Black women a leadership role in the more general women's liberation movement. He states that Black women have played a pivotal, initiating role in defining the issues of sex and race liberation for white women. For example, one young white

woman civil rights worker is quoted as stating that young Black women shattered (for white women) images held of appropriate female behavior. "There were mammas in every Southern town who provided the organizational base for action against the white power structure, coordinating food, shelter, jail visits and other life support activities." Another says "For the first time I had role models I could respect."[12] Thus, Black women are not only products of the socialization process but also serve as major agents of political socialization as others tend to imitate them.

Literature on traditional behavior of Black women focuses mostly on voting and officeholding. In a study of voting patterns of Black women, Marjorie Lansing concludes that in the 1960's Black women increased their rate of voting at higher rates than did Black men, and more than did either white sex. Particularly striking was the finding that Black women of elementary education voted at rates slightly higher than white women of comparable education and that the gap between females and males by education is smaller for Blacks than for whites at lower levels. In this same reporting, Black women were found to have lower levels of political efficacy than Black men or whites of both sexes. Therefore, their voting escalation is at odds with basic canons of research of American voter behavior.[13]

Edward T. Clayton in his 1964 study of The Negro Politician[14] devotes a chapter to "The Woman in Politics". He observed that the

majority of political workers were women and that among Negroes they outnumbered men in performing the grassroots tasks necessary to political success. The rewards to women, however, were found not to be commensurate with their contributions to party efforts. Only a score or so of Negro women were found to have made a dramatic success at politics, as there were in 1964 less than a dozen across the nation who had gained elective office in the sense that they had political constituents. Mostly Black women had elevated themselves to positions of power within their parties. Clayton examines the political careers of about a dozen women officeholders. The diversity of personalities, geographic locations, social backgrounds and political styles among these women thwarted his efforts to discover any pattern for success to offer Black women aspiring for high places politically. He did note that the late Congressman Dawson once commented, "The Negro woman has been the salvation of Negroes politically . . . they are unbending, cannot be easily swayed and cannot be bought. This is in contrast to the Negro male who is susceptible to money."

Shirley Chisholm's Unbought and Unbossed[15] gives an account of the political career of the first Black woman to be elected to the United States Congress after overcoming a double disadvantage, race and sex, to win. She discusses the comparative impact of these impediments and her propensity to speak out and to break the rules.

Officeholding by Black women has been tabulated and published

for several years by the Joint Center for Political Studies. In October, 1978, Black women held some 843 offices, or about 26 percent of the 4,504 offices held by Blacks. When all women officeholders in America are viewed collectively, women constitute only about 5 percent. Thus, Black women fare better than women in general. Most of the offices held by Black women are education-related, but there are two Congresswomen and about fifty judges.[16]

One of the major laments of the Black woman's experience in politics is the absence of a chronicling of these experiences by the women who lived them. The publication of the insights of former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan is hopefully the beginning of an interest by the publishing industry in the illumination of these experiences as a capitalistic venture.

Part II

Black Women State Legislators

This section will include a profile of these women in terms of their origins, political backgrounds and perceptions of their roles.

Twenty-three (23) states were represented among the thirty-five (35) Black women legislators in office at time of the study, and twenty-one (21) states were represented among the thirty-two (32) interviews. Table I gives a profile of the population of the affected states and the pattern of Black membership in the legislatures.

Table I

Black Women Legislators, Total Black Legislators and Black Percentage of Population by State

State	Black Percentage of Population	Black Women Legislators		Total Number of Black Legislators	
	1970	1972	1974	1972	1974
Arizona[4]	3.0	1	0	4	2
California[4]	7.0	1	0	6	7
Colorado[4]	3.0	0	1	3	4
Connecticut[3]	6.0	0	1	6	6
Delaware[3]	14.3	1	1	3	3
Florida[1]	15.3	1	2	2	3
Georgia[1]	25.8	1	2	15	16
Illinois[2]	12.8	0	1	19	19
Indiana[2]	6.9	0	1	2	7
Iowa[2]	1.2	1	0	1	1
Kentucky[2]	7.2	3	3	3	3
Louisiana[1]	29.8	1	1	8	8

Table I - Cont'd

State	Black Percentage of Population 1970	Black Women Legislators 1972	Black Women Legislators 1974	Total Number of Black Legislators 1972	Total Number of Black Legislators 1974
Maryland [3]	17.8	3	3	18	19
Massachusetts [3]	3.1	0	1	3	5
Michigan [2]	11.2	4	3	16	13
Missouri [2]	10.3	2	3	15	15
New Jersey [3]	10.7	1	1	5	7
New York [3]	11.9	0	1	12	14
Oklahoma [4]	6.7	1	1	6	4
Pennsylvania [3]	8.6	1	0	11	13
Tennessee [1]	15.8	0	1	8	9
Texas [1]	12.5	1	2	3	8
Washington [4]	2.1	1	1	3	2
	Total =	24	29	206	236

1 - South
2 - Midwest
3 - North East
4 - Far West

Sources: U. S. Bureau of Census, Congressional District Data, Districts of 93 Cong. CDD-93X; National Roster of Black Elected Officials, Vol. 4 April, 1974 (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies: 1974).

The Midwest seems to have been the most fertile territory for Black females wishing to cultivate careers in legislative service. A greater degree of success seems to be associated with those areas where the Black percentage of the population is less pronounced, reminiscent of V. O. Key's thesis relative to proportion of Blacks in the

population and Black political participation patterns.[17] Other possibilities include racial residential patterns and the politics of reapportionment in these areas.

The urban South is the region of origin for the greater portion of the women in this study (43.7 per cent). Equal portions come from small to moderate sized cities and large cities in the North (21.8 from each), and the remaining indicate they grew up in small to moderate sized cities in the South. None grew up in the rural South.

Table 2 points out the educational levels of fathers and mothers of the legislators and of the legislators.

Table 2

Education of Fathers and Mothers of Legislators and Legislators (In Percentages)

Educational Level	Fathers	Mothers	Legislators
Some Elementary - Elementary Completed	18.7	6.2	---
High School Completed	21.8	34.3	---
Special/Vocational Post-secondary	18.7	28.1	---
Attended College	---	---	12.5 (N=4)
Bachelor's Degree	6.2	12.5	34.3 (N=11)
Master's Degree	21.8	15.6	31.2 (N=10)
Law Degree	---	---	9.3 (N=3)
Ph.D., M.D., D.D.S. or equivalent	---	---	9.3 (N=3)
Failed to Respond	6.2	---	3.1 (N=1)
	6.2	3.1	---

As revealed, 40.5 per cent of the fathers and 40.5 per cent of the mothers had less than a high school education, whereas this was true

of none of the legislators. Further, according to 1972 census data, the median school years completed by persons of all races 25 years or older was 12.2 and for all women, 12.2. A lower figure of 10.3 was the median for all Blacks, whereas Black women had completed 10.4 years and Black men 10.1 years. A minimum of a Bachelor's degree is possessed by 52.9 per cent of the women in the study. They resemble their white counterparts from a study of women legislators serving in 1963-64. That author found that most had some form of post-high school education, but less than half graduated from college.[18] These women then constitute an upwardly mobile group, and some possible implications of that condition will be discussed later.

Black women lawmakers represent a variety of occupations and professions as presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Occupation/Profession of Legislators

Profession/Occupation	Number of Legislators
College Professor	1
Lawyer	3
Teacher	3
Librarian	1
Social Worker	5
Journalist	1
Nurse	3
Businesswoman (owner of)	6
Managers	2
Clerical	2
Consultant/Public Relations Specialist	2
Housewife	1
Incomplete Response	2

More than one occupantion was very common among respondents. For example, one legislator who held a common degree had been a teacher, a secretary, a social worker with the Red Cross overseas and now a publisher of a newspaper. Another who held both a Master's degree and a law degree had pursued a professional life that included teaching, a school principalship and law. Another had been a classroom teacher of French, a research biochemist and Law Librarian for the state. Categorization was based on the profession to which the respondent indicated greater allegiance or in which service had been longest.

Ages ranged from the 20's to the 70's with the majority over 40. This is consistent with earlier studies of women in Congress and state legislatures. Because of the use of age ranges rather than specific age in the interview instrument, no average age can be computed. However, the youngest legislator was 29, and the oldest retired past her 70th birthday after 18 years of legislative service. Reported age levels are presented in Table 4.

Table 4
Age Ranges of Legislators

Age Group	Percentages
20 - 30 Years	6.2
31 - 40 Years	25.0
41 - 50 Years	34.4
51 - 60 Years	15.6
Over 60 Years	18.7

Questions of the compatibility between public officeholding and family life for women have long been a matter of concern. Just short of half of the women (49.9 per cent) were either presently married or widowed.

Table 5

Marital Status of Black Women Legislators

Marital Status	Percentage
Single	6.2
Married	34.3
Divorced	37.5
Widowed	15.6
Legally separated	6.2

Of the divorced (N=12), five were divorced prior to campaigning for office, three others disclaimed any relationship between political endeavors and divorce. One of two legal separations reported was directly attributable to conflict over political officeholding. Husbands' views were supportive as reported by 12 of 18 women who were married at time of election. Two said that support changed to non-support after election . Two were divorced after election but husbands continued to support them politically.

The state legislators' family size ranged from ten women with no children to one legislator with seven children. Overall distribution is given in Table 6.

Table 6

Number of Children in Families of Black Women Legislators

Number of Children Had	Percentage
No Children	31.2
One Child	18.7
Two Children	21.8
Three Children	15.6
Four Children	6.2
Five Children	None
Six Children	3.1
Seven Children	3.1

About two-thirds of the legislators were also mothers. When legislators were grouped on the basis of children's ages, only 15 per cent had children under 18 years.

Studies of the United States Congress indicate that until rather recently most women members have come as replacements to serve out terms to which their husbands had been elected.[19] This pattern has also prevailed at the state level. Among these Black lady lawmakers only one had initial service as a replacement for her husband who had died in office. She subsequently sought and won election to this position in her own right. Another replaced her husband when he withdrew as party nominee following a primary victory. The remaining women came to office with no special advantage related to their husbands' having held the office previously.

For 40 per cent of these women their first term in the legislature represented their maiden venture into the political arena.

Table 7 presents data on this question.

Table 7

Political Experience of Black Women Legislators

Type of Experience	Percentage
Elective Office --	9.3
Appointive Office --	18.7
Salaried Employee --	6.2
Political Party Position --	21.8
Civil Rights Organizations --	3.1
None	40.6

In Table 8 a picture of the women's views of their expertise and special competence upon entering the legislature for the first time is given. Despite inexperience, they seemed confident of their ability to provide some special input into the legislative process.

Table 8

Views of Personal Expertise and Special Competence by Black Women Legislators

Response	Percentage
Yes, special expertise ---	84.3
No, ---	12.5
Uncertain ---	3.1

Political experiences of family members were rather limited. Only seven of the women indicated that immediate members had held

elective governmental office prior to their own elections. In two cases, it was the mother who had held office, in two cases the brother, and the husbands in three instances. One had a son who was appointed to an office after her election. Basically then, the women emerged from non-officeholding families.

It is estimated that close to one-half of the approximately 7,600 American state legislators are replaced every two years, primarily because incumbent legislators refuse to seek re-election.[20] Probing of these legislators relative to re-election plans netted the results shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Re-Election Plans for Black Women State Legislators

Response	Percentages
No Response	3.1 (1)
Yes	71.8 (23)
No	3.1 (1)
Uncertain	15.6 (5)
Retired	6.2 (2)

Because of the recency of Black women's holding legislative posts, any suggestion about upward mobility prospects and possibilities would seem premature. However, Joseph Schlesinger contends that "Ambition lies at the heart of politics. Politics thrives on the hope of pre-

ferment and drive for office."[21] To what extent do Black women lawmakers aspire for higher office? Table 10 reveals their responses when asked this question.

Table 10

Ambitions for Higher Office of Black Women Legislators

Responses	Percentages
Yes ---	31.2
No ---	31.2
Uncertain ---	31.2
Retired ---	6.2

A general level of ambivalence seems to be reflected as these data are studied. Noteworthy, however, is the knowledge that three of the present four Black Congresswomen are former state legislators.

In a related inquiry the women were asked to give their opinions on the future of Blacks in American politics, of women in American politics and of the Women's Liberation Movement. Generally optimistic views on the former two emerged as seen in Table 11.

Table 11

Views on Future of Women in Politics and Blacks in Politics

Opinion	Future of Blacks	Future of Women
Very Bright	53.1	71.8
Moderately Bright	28.1	15.6
Not Very Bright	12.5	6.2
Uncertain	6.2	6.2

Numerous Black women have articulated views on the "Women's Liberation Movement" and its relevance to their interests. For the woman legislator the most widley spreading attitude is that the Movement has some merits but must be accorded very low status among their policy priorities. Table 12 reveals results on this question.

Table 12

Views on Women's Liberation By Black Women Legislators

Views	Percentages
Pro, high priority	15.6
Pro, low priority	53.1
Neutral	18.7
Anti	12.5

One of the respondents who is skeptical of the Women's Lib Movement said "Women's Liberators scream for equality. With the majority vote in the hands of women, women vote men into office. Evidently they don't want to be liberated. "Further," she continued,"who is to be liberated from what? To what? White women from homes while Black women take care of their kids."

A more typical view was that of a legislator who assessed the movement in these words "It is good and bad. Good in areas of employment and profession. Black women haven't been turned on to it

because we have always worked and have no need to identify. Biggest fight for Blacks is racism. NOW and other women's groups will not work for Black issues like busing."

One of the lady lawmakers with a very good record of support and visibility in the struggle for women's rights remarked ,"Being a person believing in equality for all, I support Women's Lib, but it's not my top priority."

The northern urban lady legislators dominate both ends of the continuum,with southern legislators tending to be less polarized on the question.

All of the women who served between 1970 and 1974 are Democrats. In their respective bodies, some 71 per cent of them served where theirs was the majority party, and 25 per cent served in the minority party.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From the literature on political socialization of Black women it seems that generally the comparative political participation patterns of males and females trends to differ along racial lines with the behavior of Black women resembling that of Black men more closely than does the behavior of white men and white women. This finding is striking in light of recent literature rejecting the matriarchy thesis and also literature suggesting that in non-Black families if one parent is dominant in the transmission of selected political orientations it is the mother. No substantial differences in political orientations have been documented among Black families in the United States on the basis of whether the father was present or absent from the home. Further, Black women have served as significant political role models for non-Black women and for members of their own race. Summarily, the political behavior of Black women has encompassed both traditional and nontraditional forms, with access to traditional political channels coming, in the main, only after the Civil Rights Movement and passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. In each historical epoch Black women have used whatever positions they have held for political purposes--the changing of the disadvantaged status of themselves and Blacks generally.

The first Black woman state legislator was elected in 1938 to serve in the West Virginia lower house. It was not until 1952 that a Black woman was elected to a state senate, in Michigan. Women serv-

ing between 1970 and 1974 had only a minimum of prior experience and were principally from families in which no members had held political office. Support of husbands and family members was regarded as essential to their success, and most have that support.

They were confident of their ability to bring special expertise to the legislative bodies, had been elected in those states where Black men had been successful candidates and were optimistic about the future of Blacks and of women in the political arena.

These women represented educational, social and economic upward mobility, when compared with their parents. Implications of this upward mobility, in terms of impact on their group identifications and their performance, might well be the subject of additional exploration.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Success in the political arena has been only limited for both women and Blacks. Those Black women who have been successful have exhibited remarkable skills in their role flexibility. There seems to be a need to stress "a contingency orientation" in women students, helping them to cope with anticipated role conflict and dual career patterns. Tensions involved in coping with these roles are among the major impediments to selection of non-traditional careers (including politics) by many young women.

Women frequently enter the political arena without appropriate apprenticeship experiences in those careers from which most male

politicians are drawn. Therefore, it might be necessary to provide vicarious experiences in "effectiveness" training for them. These experiences would be designed to produce confidence in self. The entry of these Black women legislators into the political arena at that high level--without benefit of local experiences-probably limited their effectiveness in spite of their feelings of confidence in their ability. Effectiveness training can help to mitigate the transition from private life to political life.

Also, more women should be directed into those careers which provide apprenticeship opportunities for politics.

As to further research effort, at least several areas seem to be promising;

A. Role flexibility among Black women officeholders,

B. "Ambition Theory" applied to the study of Black women officeholders,

C. Comparative studies of the political socialization of Black and white female legislators as well as female and male legislators, and

D. Exploration and examination of criteria now used to assess the "effectiveness" of Black women officeholders. For example, what are the traits that will enable Black women legislators (with dual minority status) to best represent the interests of their constituents?

Finally, it would seem appropriate to suggest the need for a wider interest in the study of Black women in political office by social science scholars, especially women scholars. Such interest should result in not only an increase in exploratory research but also in efforts to adapt existing theoretical frameworks from the

social sciences to the study of women in politics and to generate new theories, concepts and investigative methods. One such effort recently attempted to apply the "marginal man" thesis to the study of women in politics.[22] The "marginal man" thesis as applied holds that women who choose to pursue careers in politics are, like the marginal man, involved in two different worlds--one of women and one of politicians.[23] Like the marginal man, she is involved with both, but not totally a part of either. Conflicting values, demands and priorities are faced. For the Black woman operating in the political arena, there is a situation of dual marginality--one resulting from sex and the other from race. The initial effort to utilize this framework for studying women in politics has been encouraging, but further development is necessary and forthcoming.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Angela Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," The Black Scholar (December, 1971):

[2]Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (New York: Citadel Press, 1964).

[3]Ibid.

[4]William Chafe, Women and Equality (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 109.

[5]See Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 361 (September, 1965): 112-127, and Schley Lyons, "The Political Socialization of Ghetto Children: Efficacy and Cynicism," Journal of Politics 32 (May, 1970): 288-304.

[6]M. Kent Jennings and Kenneth P. Langton, "Mothers Versus Fathers: The Formulation of Political Orientations Among Young Americans," Journal of Politics 31 (May, 1969): 329-358.

[7]Herbert H. Hyman and John Shelton Reed, "Black Matriarchy Reconsidered: Evidence From Secondary Analysis of Sample Surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly 33 (Fall, 1969): 346-354.

[8]Robert Hill, The Strengths of Black Families (New York: Emerson-Hall Publishers, 1972).

[9]Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), pp. 407-440. Also reported in testimony to the Black Committee of Inquiry, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1972.

[10]John Pierce, William Avery and Addison Carey, Jr., "Sex Differences in Black Political Beliefs and Behavior," American Journal of Political Science 17 (May 1973): 422-430.

[11]Inez Reid, Together Black Women (New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, 1972).

[12]William Chafe, Women and Equality (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 109-112.

[13]Marjorie Lansing, "The Voting Patterns of American Black Women." A paper presented at the 1973 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, September 4-8.

[14]Edward T. Clayton, The Negro Politician: His Success and Failure (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 122-148.

[15]Shirley Chisholm, Unbought and Unbossed (New York: Avon Books, 1970).

[16]Roster of Black Elected Officials 1978 (Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1978).

[17]V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949).

[18]Emmy E. Werner, "Women in the State Legislatures," Western Political Quarterly XXI (1968): 40-50.

[19]Martin Gruberg, Women in American Politics (Oshkosh: Academia Press, 1968).

[20]Daniel R. Grant and H. C. Nixon, State and Local Government in America (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), p. 242.

[21]Joseph A. Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 1.

[22]Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage, A Portrait of Marginality: The Political Behavior of the American Woman (New York: David McKay (Now Longman's), 1977).

[23]Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961).

Socialization Patterns and Characteristics Associated With Success

Lillye H. Jones

Research Presenter

Ms. Lillye E. Henderson Jones is Women's Employment Opportunity Specialist for the city of Phoenix, Arizona. She has been active in employment training and formerly served as Field Representative for the Maricopa County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Ms. Jones was the Coordinator of the 1977 Arizona Minority Women's Conference and is the author of a definitive work on the socialization process and characteristics of successful managers.

This study was originally designed to look at the career patterns of successful managers in the public sector and to examine the differences, if any, between the career patterns of males and females. The questionnaire was sent to one thousand middle and upper managers, the assumption being that the upper managers are ex-middle managers. There was a deliberate over-sampling of females. There are approximately thirty-five hundred public managers in state and local service throughout the state. Two hundred eighty-three females were identified, and questionnaires went to all of them. The remaining 717 were randomly selected. The questionnaire was a four-part, 105-question instrument. The first section covered career path; the second section covered personal profile information; the third section covered attitudes and perceptions, both personal and professional, and the final section asked for comments or reactions.

The response was 64 percent overall, 76 percent for females, 59 percent for males. The response for Black women was 100 percent. Of the responses received from females, four were inadequately completed and not tabulated. Of the 211 tabulated, 121 were from white women, 43 from Black women, 38 from Mexican-American women, 7 from Indian women, and 2 from Oriental women.

The eighteen follow-up interviews included six white women and three Black women. The original plan was to interview a dozen of the women. The

additional interviews were the results of women calling to inquire about the questionnaire or to clarify some response or statement.

A survey of the literature was made in two areas. The first was in the area of managerial style, characteristics and successful traits. The literature confirmed the fact that there are definite similarities in skills, knowledge and abilities among successful executives. Kauter concluded in Men and Women of the Corporation that successful executives generally are people who have learned to benefit from the organization. In The Gamesman Macoby reported that one of the most important attributes was the ability to "play the game", but he also recognized that some of the traits thought to be very important to do the job (pride in performance, honesty, open mindedness) were not things stimulated by the work environment.

The job of management has traditionally been identified as a male occupation which requires aggressive behavior. Yet the Johnson O'Connor Research Foundation conducted a study comparing men and women on twenty-two aptitudes basic to managerial skills and concluded, "Women are naturals. In short, they possess more of the basic aptitudes, in greater quantity, than men do."

Brenner makes the following observation:

> Increasing the occupational opportunity of women, like increasing opportunities for other groups, encounters many barriers: role expectations, and thoroughly internalized behavior patterns. These factors, among others, have made women's participation in many occupations very difficult. One of the areas in which these factors have had their

greatest influence is in management.

Sex stereotyping becomes an issue in very subtle ways. Even the results of a Harvard Business Review survey conducted with subscribers of the magazine revealed that organizations were more concerned with the careers of male employees than those of female employees and that there is still a skeptical concern about women's ability to balance family demands and job demands. The stereotyping begins before most women begin to think about careers. Mitchell reported that sex molding begins before birth. Schwartz and Rago confirmed that girls are taught their roles through family environment.

Managers perform three basic functions: planning, organizing and controlling. These functions are contrary to the feminine stereotype. "Historically, women have been placed in jobs that reward for following directions, not for making decisions. People in these jobs are given praise and recognition for doing things the right way rather than for getting things done." Implicit in the functions of the manager is the ability to make decisions, communicate ideas and handle human relation problems. Most women aspiring to become managers find themselves handicapped by the learning of roles foisted on them by society. Women's jobs fail to provide the experience needed for promotions and placement into decision-making positions.

Role stereotyping also leads to role conflict. Even successful female managers report that they experienced role conflict that led to identity crises which were resolved only when their images as managers were

integrated into their images as women. Role conflict further led to a suppression of managerial characteristics perceived as masculine behavior or conversely to the imitation of masculine styles. In responding to questions about the lack of women in the profession, city managers from various sections of the country gave the following typical statements: "The profane language used by employees isn't fit for a woman to hear." "There's always the sex thing. I mean you have to go places with men in a car." "Men won't work for women."

Because management positions are usually acquired through internal advancement, a real concern among women is the way they are "overlooked" for a promotion or transfer that would enhance their present employment status and future opportunities. As one writer put it,---- "business continues to follow its historical practice of discriminating in favor of white males for important jobs while welcoming the influx of women to fill the bottomless pit of support services." Discrimination also occurs when training opportunities, the direct path to promotions, are not openly advertised; when unrealistic qualifications not job related tend to screen out women; when women are discouraged from applying or simply not considered for a position. Employment discrimination against women approaches a "natural law" kind of status and has recently expanded to include the labelling of "women libbers." Grieff summarized such labelling as a result of men's feeling threatened because of the invasion of their territory.

One of the areas where discrimination is most crippling for women is in

the availability of a mentor or sponsor. There are few women mentors, and it is rare for a man to choose a female protege. Men will shy away from management-directed females because of role conflict between family and career and the possible complications that could arise from her family as well as his own. Dubrin says that few people succeed in organizations without someone above them who is impressed by their ability and is willing to help them maneuver through the ranks. A survey of top executives listed in the "Who's News" column of the Wall Street Journal in 1977 revealed that

1. 76 percent of the executives under the age of 40 had mentors.
2. 68 percent of the relationships had begun during the first five years of their careers, and
3. 74 percent rated the mentor's influence on their careers as substantial.

Although "sexism is alive and well," a variety of options is open to women for surfacing and confronting it. "Through litigation, negotiation, socialization, enthusiasm, commitment, and competence in their public service roles, the imbalances are being challenged."

It was particularly interesting to find that in most of the literature there was little if any recognition of ethnic differences among women. A number of the studies did not do any ethnic identification, and those that did, did so in such a way that it was difficult for one to draw any conclusions. In almost every instance that discussion appeared comparing white women and Black women the comparison involved a non-job-

related situation.

The findings of the research both support and contradict the literature; however, there are obvious conclusions that can be drawn about the differences between Black and white women.

In Section I of the questionnaire there was a total of ten questions with twenty-three possible responses. This section was designed to solicit information concerning career patterns. The differences between Black and white women were significant in six responses.

The responses to the question on career goals showed that 66 percent of all Black women and 16 percent of the white women made decisions about their career goals while working. The majority, or 66 percent of white women made career goal decisions in college or earlier. There was also a significant difference in the people who most influenced career choices. For white women, 30 percent indicated that the individual was a professor, with the rest of the responses being fairly evenly distributed between both parents. For Black women, the influence was not a "who." Seventy percent of the respondents, or twenty-nine women, indicated that their career choices were made by job availability or other circumstances. The individual most frequently identified by Black women, 14 percent or 6 respondents, was a supervisor. Lest that statement be misconstrued, two of the actual responses indicated a career decision motivated by a desire to get away from a supervisor.

The responses to the question about assistance in developing a structured plan were divided almost 50/50 for white women. For Black women,

87 percent of the responses were "no." Coupled with this was a similar response ratio to the question of training provided to aid in advancing. Most of the Black women had been promoted from within the organization, having had an average of three previous jobs. Sixty percent of the white women had been promoted into their jobs and had held an average of two previous jobs in the organization.

Other differences were related to age and hours of responsibility. There was a twelve-year gap between the ages at which the two groups got their first management positions. Black women got their first management positions at 38 years of age, compared with 26 years of age for white women. Black women spend 4.2 hours less in their job than white women, 45.8 hours a week in comparison with 50 hours a week for white women.

The final difference was the sponsorship of a mentor. Two-thirds of the white respondents reported having had a mentor, 75 percent of them male, at the department head level or above. Fourteen percent of the Black women reported having had mentors, all males at various levels throughout the organization, the most common response naming a previous supervisor.

In summary of Section I, Black women managers made their career decisions while working, were most influenced by job availability, had developed their career plans without formal assistance and were promoted to their present job from within, had an average of three other positions in the organization, and had attained their positions without the guidance or sponsorship of a mentor.

Section II provided personal information. The average age for Black women was 42 compared to 31 for white women. The significance of this difference is that even though Black women were nine years older, they, on the average, had had a year's less experience as a manager than had their white counterpart. Half of the white women had been with their current organizations fewer than five years compared to sixty percent of the Black women, who had been with their organizations more than ten years.

The forty-three responses from Black women showed that thirty-one of them were managers in departments or functions related to social service delivery. The most frequent response was from the area of economic security, i.e. employment and welfare. Only three Black women were managers in fiscal control departments or fiscal functions of a department. White women's responses did not indicate any departmental trends, but eighty-seven of them, although functioning in management capacities with program, budget and personnel responsibilities, carried special titles such as Assistant to the Director, management specialist or similar titles. There were virtually no differences in the current salary, although the seven responses indicating salaries over $30,000 were from whites.

Only one-third of the Black women had college degrees compared to 80 percent of the white women. Fifty percent also had graduate degrees, predominantly MBA's or MPA's. Of those white women having only Bachelor's degrees, seventeen of them were B.S./Political Science.

The predominant marital status of Black women was "divorced;" for white women it was "never married." Black women had an average of four children,

mostly sixteen years old or older. The majority of white women had no children.

There was a real difference in family backgrounds. Black women indicated their mothers had been high school graduates and worked at various jobs, the most frequent being as a domestic worker. Half of the white women indicated their mothers had a college degree or had attended vocational school (including nursing); yet the most frequent occupation was homemaker. Black fathers were reported absent in thirteen responses and college graduates in four. The chief occupations of the four college graduates were school administrator, chef, airline porter and farmer. The remaining responses were predominantly "some high school" and listed various skilled and unskilled laborer positions. White fathers were deceased in twenty-one responses. The predominant response for the remaining white fathers was "college degree," with only twelve having less than a high school degree. The occupations reported were primarily professional positions, including nine lawyers, eight doctors and a veterinarian. Thirty-two of the fathers were salesmen. Black women managers came from smaller families than did white women, with the notable exception of one respondent, who reported fourteen sisters and brothers. The average number of brothers and sisters was two (1.6) for Black women and three (2.8) for white women. There were no discernible patterns in birth order for either group of women. The patterns of socialization were different. In response to the question of what they were encouraged to do as a child, 50 percent or more of the Black women reported being encouraged

to 1) do specific chores, 2) get good grades in school, 3) be independent, and 4) not bother adults. Fifty percent or more of white women were encouraged to 1) do specific chores, 2) make friends with other children, 3) plan for your future, 4) get good grades in school and 5) get along with others.

Both groups of women reported their favorite pasttime activities were split between reading and sports. They had also expected to take care of themselves when they grew up. Only sixteen women indicated they did not have a best friend when growing up. For Black women, 32 percent had a male as a best friend compared to 20 percent for white women.

The picture which emerged of the Black woman manager is the following: A 42-year old divorcee with four children, some college and more than ten years with the organization. Her mother was a high school graduate, whose primary occupation was a domestic worker. Her father was a high school dropout, who was a laborer while she was growing up. She had two brothers/sisters, a female best friend and was encouraged to do her chores, get good grades, be independent and not bother adults. She is an administrator in an agency which is involved in the delivery of social services.

Section III was designed to measure proven successful traits possessed by the respondents. Of thirty managerial skills and traits there was a significant difference in only four areas. More than half the Black women reported problems in the areas of evaluating staff and developing incentives and rewards. Both groups averaged twenty-five responses in the "do well" category.

In the area of self-perception there was very little difference in the responses with the exception of questions related to attitudes about success. On a Likert scale of one to five, Black women strongly disagreed (4.7) with the perception that success can be threatening and disagreed (4.2) with the statement that success is the result of personal sacrifice. White women were non-committal on the former question (2.8) and strongly agreed with the latter (1.4). Both groups indicated strong positive attitudes about themselves professionally.

The picture is a little different in their personal perceptions. Out of twenty-two questions, the overall responses were significantly different on the following seven questions covering the areas of 1) the sex of closest friends, 2) the overlapping of personal and professional commitments, and 3) competitiveness. Black women's closest friends are members of their own sex; they tend to separate their personal and professional lives, are personally competitive and would maintain their friends if they changed jobs. Their average score on those seven questions was 4.8 compared to 3.2 for white women. White women reported they manage their personal time as well as their job time (4.6). This job time is significantly different for Black women (2.4). The overall score was 3.2 for white women and 4.1 for Black women.

One of the more interesting results of the questionnaire was the comments in Section IV. When asked to identify the three greatest barriers faced in their career, 147 listed discrimination as either their number one or number two barrier. Thirty-three of the Black women listed discrimination

as both number one and number two barrier, once for race and once for sex. The third most common response for Black women was peer pressure to be more conforming. The second most common response for white women was sexual advances from peers, and their third most common barrier was a tie between their age and fear of failure.

Conclusion

Although the socialization of Black women is different from that of white women, the traits necessary for success as a manager appear to be evident in both groups. Black women carry into their positions the insight gained from years in the organization as well as high, positive self-perceptions. The socialization is perhaps most obvious in the separation of their personal and professional lives. The interviews conducted revealed a difference that the questionnaire did not cover. Granted, a small part of the sample was interviewed, but with those nine women, the difference in appearance and style was obvious. Five of the six white women were right out of Dress for Success. The sixth one was a "Kewpie Doll" and had listed her barriers as 1) not being taken seriously, 2) sexual advances from co-workers, and 3) problems evaluating subordinates. The three Black women, while professionally appropriate, defied any mode. On the days I talked with them, one was "cornrowed," one was "permed" and one was turbaned. The only thing they had in common with their five white counterparts was that they were taller than average. Their offices were atypical. One did not even have a desk. The most obvious difference was in making the appointments. All six of the white women had their calls screened. Two of the Black women answered their own

phones (the number was their direct line), and the third one was not in when I called but returned the call herself.

In response to questioning, Black women confirmed that the lack of a mentor was often a problem but not a situation which adversely affected their overall performances. They also responded that role conflict was not a problem for them because their socialization was such that they grew up expecting to fit all of the roles necessary into their lives. They also confirmed that their lives would have been different if they had entered the labor market with a specific job in mind. One of the women was actively involved in the "women's movement;" the other two were very specific in their perceptions that the movement was a "white middle-class" movement.

Black women have a real need for career pathing information. They tend to defy the "dependent" socialization prevalent for the dominant population. Curricula which recognize ethnic differences in other than a historical perspective need to be developed. But most of all, we need to encourage Black women to pursue management goals.

Research on Black women in the market place is desperately needed. We have the demographics, but we lack an understanding of why we are where we are. Although I should like to see more Black women managers in the public sector, I should also like to see more in the private sector and should like to know what the difference is. I can readily identify the following areas for research:

1. Similar characteristics necessary for success as managers and non-managers.
2. Peer conflict related to style differences.
3. Transference of skills into other areas.
4. The benefit of women's studies programs as perceived by Black graduates of those programs, and
5. The role and impact of Black women as managers.

We are now standing on the brink of a new social order. That new order will see more and more employees in the public sector and more and more managers in the public sector. That new order does not automatically include an identifiable place for us as Black women. We must take the responsibility for seeing that we are not excluded. We must understand that though "free", we are still an enslaved people, not by visible shackles and chains but by the lack of opportunity to make our opinions and concerns known in effective ways. We are enslaved by our ignorance of what is happening to us in areas outside our expertise or geography, and we are enslaved by our dependency on a media network that has little understanding of the importance of our Blackness or the threat to our cultural survival. There are real differences between us and our white sisters. Education is one of the necessary tools to insure that these differences are neither ignored nor exploited.

I should like to express my gratitude and thanks to the National Advisory Council for Women's Educational Programs, Texas Southern University

and HEW's Office of Education for this Symposium. I believe in education, certainly as a way to change negative socialization patterns, but further to quote Baron Brougham Henry, "Education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive: easy to govern but impossible to enslave."

MANAGEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION I

1. When did you decide on a career goal?

   _____In high school or earlier

   _____In College

   _____While working

   _____Other _____
   (Please Specify)

2. How did you decide on a career goal?_____

   _____

   _____

3. Who most influenced your choice?

   _____Mother _____Professor _____Other _____
   (Please Specify)

   _____Father _____Supervisor

4. Have you ever attended classes or seminars to assist in developing a structured plan to reach your career goal?

   _____Yes _____No

5. Have you ever changed your career field? _____Yes _____No
   If yes, how many times? _____

6. Were you promoted to your current job from within the organization?

   _____Yes _____No
   If, yes, What was your previous position? _____
   How many previous jobs have you had with the organization? _____
   Was training provided to help you advance? _____Yes No _____
   Was such training available? _____Yes No _____

7. At what age did you get your first management position? _____

8. Have you reached your career goal? _____Yes _____No

9. How many hours a week do you spend in your job? _____

10. Have you ever had the benefit of a person at a higher level sponsoring you or guiding you in your career? _____Yes _____No

If yes, what was your sponsor's position? _____

What sex was your sponsor? _____

SECTION II

1. What is your sex? _____
2. What is your date of birth? _____
3. What is your current job title? _____
4. How many years have you been with your organization?

_____Less than one year

_____More than one year, less than five years

_____More than five years, less than ten years

_____More than ten years

5. What is your present salary?

_____Less than $10,000

_____$10,000 to $14,999

_____$15,000 to $19,999

_____$20,000 to $24,999

_____$25,000 to $29,999

_____$30,000 plus

6. What is your educational background? Please check highest level completed

_____Some high school

_____High school graduate

_____Vocational or business school

_____Some college

_____College graduate (Please indicate major: _____)

_____Some post graduate work

_____Graduate degree (Please indicate major: _____)

7. What is your marital status?

_____Never married

_____Married

_____Cohabitating

_____Separated

_____Divorced

_____Widowed

If married, please continue, if not married please skip to #12.

8. Is this your first marriage? _____Yes _____No

If yes, at what age did you marry? _____
If not, at what age did you first marry? _____
How long have you been married to this spouse? _____

9. What is your spouse's occupation? _____

10. What is your spouse's educational background? _____

_____Some high school

_____High school graduate

_____Vocational or business school

_____Some college

_____College graduate

_____Some post graduate work

_____Graduate degree

11. What is your spouse's income?

_____Less than $10,000

_____$10,000 to $14,999

_____$15,000 to $19,999

_____$20,000 to $24,999

_____$25,000 to $29,999

_____$30,000 plus

12. How many children do you have in each of the following age groups? (If none, please skip to #13.)

_____0 to 5 years

_____6 to 10 years

_____11 to 15 years

_____16 to 18 years

_____18 years or older

Who cares for your children in your absence? _____

13. What was your mother's occupation while you were growing up?

_____

14. What was your mother's educational background?

_____Some high school

_____High school graduate

_____Vocational or business school

_____Some college

_____College graduate

_____Graduate degree

15. What was your father's occupation while you were growing up?

_____

16. What was your father's educational background?

_____Some high school

_____High school graduate

_____Vocational or business school

_____Some college

_____College degree

_____Graduate degree

17. How many children were in your family? (Please indicate the numbers.)

_____Number of older sisters

_____Number of older brothers

_____Number of younger sisters

_____Number of younger brothers

18. As a child what was your favorite pasttime activity or game? Please be specific.

_____

19. As a child who did you expect to take care of you when you grew up?

_____

20. As a child did you have a "Best Friend?" _____Yes _____No
If yes, was your "Best Friend of the same sex? _____Yes _____No

21. Please check all of the appropriate blanks for the following question. As a child were you encouraged to:

_____Do specified chores

_____Make friends with other children

_____Seek solutions to your problems

_____Plan for your future

_____Get good grades in school

_____Be independent

_____Be comfortable by yourself

_____Get along with others

_____Behave as "Perfect Little Gentlemen"/"Perfect Little Lady"

_____Not bother adults

22 Please use the following space to provide any clarification or additional information relating to Section II.

_____

_____

_____

_____

SECTION III

A. Job Activities: Please check the appropriate space for your performance about each of the following job tasks:

		Do Not Do In Job	Do In Job But Not Well	Do Well In Job
1.	Problem Solving			
2.	Resolving Conflicts			
3.	Designing Programs			
4.	Implementing Programs			
5.	Defining Goals and Objectives			
6.	Clarifying Goals and Objectives			
7.	Dealing with Changes			
8.	Making Decisions			
9.	Communicating with Subordinates			
10.	Communicating with Peers			
11.	Communicating with Superiors			
12.	Coordinating Job Tasks			
13.	Hiring Staff			
14.	Communicating Verbally			
15.	Communicating in Writing			
16.	Preparing Reports			
17.	Supervising Staff			
18.	Motivating Staff			
19.	Delegating Authority			
20.	Delegating Responsibility			
21.	Evaluating Staff			
22.	Analyzing Costs			
23.	Preparing Budgets			
24.	Participating in Groups			
25.	Obtaining Feedback			
26.	Giving Feedback			
27.	Developing Incentives and Rewards			
28.	Setting Standards			
29.	Dealing with Human Relations Problems			
30.	Creating Staff Visibility within the Organization			

B. Self Perceptions: For the remaining statements, please indicate the degree of your agreement to each from 5 being high agreement to 1 being high disagreement.

	CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER	Highly Disagree 1	2	3	4	Highly Agree 5
1.	I am a persuasive person.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	I am highly motivated.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I am competent.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I am aggressive.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I feel success can be threatening.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I can work effectively under pressure.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I am a sensitive person	1	2	3	4	5
8.	I can work without acceptance.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	I socialize with my colleagues away from the job.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I have a high self-esteem.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	I am confident of my abilities.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	I have a good sense of humor.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	I am using my maximum abilities.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	I have as much access to office "information" as others.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	My ideas are used in meetings and conferences.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	I think success is the result of personal sacrifice.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	I am included in informal peer meetings.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	I feel I have a good background for my job.	1	2	3	4	5

Please answer this part as you did above. If a statement is not applicable, please do not mark a response.

1.	My closest friends are members of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	My closest friends are members of the opposite sex.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I am successful.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I separate my personal and professional life.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	My success has been at the cost of other things I would like to do.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	My family is proud of my career.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I spend a lot of my personal time in job related activities.	1	2	3	4	5

8.	I am a likeable person.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	I need to spend more time with my family.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I am an independent person.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	I experience some role conflict between my personal and professional lives.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	My career is as important to my family as my spouse's.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Most of my friends are career-oriented.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	My successful friends have little time for socializing.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	I have personal non-job related goals.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	I manage my personal time as well as I do my work time.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	I am active in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	My career enhances my personal life.	1	2	3	4	5
19.	Friends and relatives often seek my advice.	1	2	3	4	5
20.	I like myself.	1	2	3	4	5
21.	I am personally a competitive person.	1	2	3	4	5
22.	I would maintain most of my friends if I changed jobs.	1	2	3	4	5

IV. COMMENTS

1. What are the three greatest barriers you have had to face in your career?

_____

_____

_____

2. Please make any additional comments you would like to contribute.

_____

_____

_____

V. If you are willing to be interviewed, please give your name and a number at which you can be contacted. _____

_____

Young Black Girls: The Separate Worlds of Families and Schools

Dr. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot

Keynote Synthesis Presenter

Dr. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot is Associate Professor of Education and Social Policy at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Formerly a researcher at the Albert Einstein School of Medicine, Center for Educational Policy Research and the W. E. B. Dubois Institute for Afro American Research, she is the author of more than twenty substantive works related to the socialization process in families and schools, including Worlds Apart: Relationships Between Families and Schools.

Cultural Images and Distortions

Young black girls are an ignored and invisible population. One of the great struggles with documenting the early experience of black girls in school is that they have not been the focus of the agenda of social science research. As one reads through the literature in search of some mention of the special identity and experience of black girls in school, one is struck by the blank slate. Research on children in school does give us prototypic images of white boys and girls and black boys. White boys are described as aggressive, initiating and dominant, less likely to conform to the demands of a highly structured and controlling environment than their female counterparts. White girls are likely to be described as the perfect, obedient students who adapt easily and smoothly to the social norms, psychological constraints and cognitive demands of school. Black boys are considered hyperactive, disobedient, withdrawn, and lazy--the extreme deviants of an orderly environment. But images of black girls--no matter how distorted or ethnocentric--do not present themselves in the literature on teachers and children in classrooms.

It would be misleading indeed to focus on the young black girls' invisibility in research on schools as a peculiar methodological phenomenon. Their shadowy status in the literature is a reflection of the more general cultural orientation towards young black girls. They are a human resource who do not even deserve social and cultural imagery. As a matter of fact, they have not even been awarded the negative and

pejorative sterotypes that correspond to their black brothers. The sterotypic images of black females do not become formalized until they reach maturity as women. This is a reflection of the socio-economic and socio-psychological agenda for black women. They are the black mammies, the all-giving and nurturant beings who nurse and coddle the offspring of aristocrats. Their social purpose--the dependency of the upper classes on their subservient and giving role--clarifies the need for cultural images and myths.

Black girls are not even thought to be the embryonic expression of black women sterotypes nor the miniature form of their mothers. Minimal attention is given to the early stages of black female development or to the path she has had to traverse to maturity--only to the culmination of her role development, the hardened and fixed images of many generations of restrictive and prejudicial stereotyping. The cultural myths about black women in our society are obviously important in the socialization of young black girls. The myths and legends shape the young girls' identities, form important sources of identification, and provide critical barriers to the full expression of their individual and unique potentials. Historically, cultures have generally defined three images of womanhood--those who nurture, those who provide sensual pleasure, and those who convey social wisdom. The unifying element in all three images is their close identification with organic life and its perpetuation. Women, that is, have a special capacity to mediate between biology, history, and social change. It is the special role of

women to provide a connection to the past and to move towards the future (Lifton, 1964).

The black woman shares the three general identities of all women--that of nurturer, temptress and social knower--but she also encompasses other images that reflect her special role in the social and historical development of this country. The black woman is strong, patient and enduring. She is mother earth who nurtures and gives love to the children of Miss Ann and then goes home abused and too tired to care for her own little black children. She is Sapphire, sexy, brash, and callous with long fingernails that dig deep and leave scars. She is liberated, aggressive, and competitive. She knows too well the feeling of work and for too many years has been responsible for putting the bread on the table.

As one begins to explore the stereotypic images of black women, one recognizes some inherent contradictions of imagery. In her development, the black girl is not only faced with distorted and unrealistic stereotypes of black women, but also with stereotypes that bear no rational connection to one another. These contrary stereotypes provide confusing and conflicting sources of identity for young black girls.[1]

---

[1] For an extended discussion of the classroom research on the differential experiences of boys and girls, and black and white children in school see Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, "Socialization and Education of Young Black Girls in School," Teachers College Record, Vol. 78, No. 2, December 1976. Portions of this paper are derived from this earlier article.

Authentic, real-life portraits of black girls and black women will not be drawn until we systematically record their central role as participants in a profound educational process; until we offer unencumbered non-stereotypic visions of black family life; and clearly document the themes of consonance and dissonance between the learnings in families and schools. Why is it that Jackie, an aggressive, domineering, expressive, and bright-eyed dark-skinned girl becomes a lethargic, accommodating, mask-wearing, shadowy figure in school? Why is she so visible, so colorful, so skillful skipping rope with her friends on the street; so responsible, so bossy, so nurturant with her younger brothers and sisters; and why do these striking qualities vanish in school? How does she traverse the often rocky path from home to school? How does she navigate, incorporate, and accommodate to these different, often separate worlds. My discussion today will not trace the movements or shifting personnas of Jackie, nor chart the development of her young black sisters. Hopefully, our explorations at this conference will begin to uncover the myriad variables that shape the differential socialization of black girls. Rather, I will focus on some of the central themes found in social science perspectives on black family life and on relationships between black families and schools. It is my contention that researchers' portrayals of these two primary institutions of socialization have had a profound impact on our cultural images of black women and girls and that it is important to understand the contexts and origins of image-making.

Families and Schools in Conflict

For black children in this society, there is rarely a continuity between the profound and deeply etched learnings within their families and the social and intellectual lessons of school. Great disparities often exist between the style, values, attitudes demanded by parents and caretakers and those required by teachers. This dissonance is exaggerated and magnified by the conceptual frameworks, methodological strategies, and ideological inclinations of social science researchers. In fact, the disparities between the structures, processes, and values of black families and public schools have been a major preoccupation of social scientists who search for the reasons underlying the low achievement and depressed self-images of young black students in school. The scientific search, however, has not been dispassionate nor objective. More often, social science has justified pervasive inequalities, rarely challenged the asymmetric power between minority communities and schools, and obscured potential solutions by looking for sources of failure within families and within children.

The focus on the deviance and pathology of black family life is an exaggerated extension of a more general moralistic tone that pervades the sociological and anthropological literature on family structures and functions. The static pictures of the family found in popular American imagery do not correspond to the real-life patterns of the vast majority of people in this society. In his recent book, All Our Children, Kenneth Keniston (1977) destroys any remaining illusions of the perfect,

symmetrical nuclear family when his data reveal patterns and structures of family life, across all socio-economic, racial, and ethnic groups, that do not conform to the stereotypic image of father as breadwinner, mother as homemaker, with two lovely, clean, and well-behaved children.

Divorce, separation, remarriage, and adoption all may mean that there is little correspondence between the social, psychological, and biological definitions of family. The unit described as the household often does not resemble the unit that is socially defined as family. And when one introduces the dimension of time, one recognizes changes and transformations in the constellations of family and in the evolving relationships and interactional patterns among members. Beyond changes in the structures and patterns of households, it is critical that we not conceive of the family as a closed system, but as part of a wider social system that is open and responsive to a myriad of external influences. The family must be seen within the broad context of numerous significant external relationships - grandparents, kinfolk, neighbors, and friends.

Coupled with the distorted vision of isolated nuclear families are equally narrow perceptions of child-rearing patterns within families. Throughout the literature on cognitive development, for instance, investigators have focused on the dyadic relationships between mother and child as the only critical determinant of learning, and assumed an asymmetric one-way influence from parent to child rather than a dynamic, two-way interaction. The preoccupation with mother-child dyads excludes

and negates the other powerful participants in the child's socialization; assumes that parents do not learn from their children; and gives the burdensome responsibility of child care and growth to a single female figure.

The exclusion of significant others from the analysis of child-rearing patterns has a particularly distorting effect on our view of black family life and the socialization of children. From the slavery period, for example, we find evidence of the critical caretaking role performed by older siblings and peers, and the powerful influence of grandmothers and women-elders in the rearing of young children. Reflections of these more extended patterns of child-rearing are found today in black communities where children seem to be less focused on the adult as the central figure for sustenance and guidance and seem more likely to seek help and support from agemates. A comprehensive description of the educative function of families, therefore, would have to include socialization and learning that are not supervised or controlled by adults; would have to document child-initiated interactions with significant others; and would have to reflect patterns of communication and behavior extending far beyond the boundaries of the nuclear family or household.

In critiquing social science research on black families, Robert Hill (1976) identifies a major methodological and conceptual fallacy that obscures the experiences of black children - the tendency to impute function on the basis of structure. Knowledge of the fact that a family

is headed by a single parent does not necessarily tell us anything about the living patterns and daily experiences of family members. Moving from a family of two parents to a single-parent form may be a structural adaptation,not necessarily a sign of deterioration and disintegration. The preoccupation with prototypic nuclear structures in social science literature is coupled with the tendency of researchers to offer differential explanations for deviance and difference in white and black communities. Single black mothers are more likely to be perceived as unwed, irresponsible, and promiscuous; while white mothers, expressing similar behavioral and attitudinal patterns, may be described as engaging in liberated, alternative lifestyles. Even though researchers are often making social class as well as racial differentiations, their descriptions are more a reflection of their value-laden perceptions than they are revealing of differences in behavioral, empirical data.

The ideological orientations of researchers are also evident in the more "scientific" and uncontaminated laboratory settings where experimental tasks are prescribed and clearly delineated. Recent experimental work on the intellectual development of young black children, for example, stresses the inadequacies of their family life and the negative conflicts between black families and schools. In a study of language development and expressive styles of black children, psychologists Hess and Shipman reveal the classic modes of inquiry used by social science researchers. The authors claim that lower-class black children

experience irreversible cultural deprivation because there is a lack of cognitive meaning in the mother-child communication system. They distinguish between the communication styles of lower-class and middle-class mothers, asserting that middle-class mothers offer a range of alternatives for thought and action (elaborated verbal cues) while lower-class mothers give predetermined solutions and few alternatives for consideration and thought (restricted verbal cues). Hess and Shipman use these two examples of a middle-class and lower-class mother preparing their children for the first day of school:

Middle-Class Mother:

First of all I would remind her that she was going to school to learn, that her teacher would take my place, and that she would be expected to follow instructions. Also that her time was to be spent mostly in the classroom with other children and that any questions or any problems that she might have she should consult with her teacher for assistance. To tell her anything else would probably be confusing for her at this age.

Lower-Class Mother:

Mind the teacher and do what she tells you to do. The first thing you have to do is be on time. Be nice and do not fight. If you are tardy or if you stay away from school your marks will go down. The teacher needs your full cooperation. She will have so many children she won't be able to pamper any

youngster.[2]

According to Hess and Shipman, these excerpts reflect a disparity in the quality and style of language and in the amount of instructional vs. imperative information. More importantly, on the basis of this early experience lower-class children are poorly prepared to approach the task of learning in school, while middle-class children develop into assertive and reflective learners.

The Hess and Shipman data were gathered in a laboratory setting where black mother-child dyads were directed to engage in pre-established cognitive games and their patterns of language interaction were recorded and analyzed. Mothers and children were asked, therefore, to enter an unfamiliar and alien setting, given an experimental task of meaningless social significance, and observed and evaluated by strange adults. No observances were taken in the naturalistic settings where mothers and children usually interact with one another, and the data show correlations, not causality, between child-rearing practices ad achievement.[3] Even if we ignore the many ideological and methodological problems connected with

---

2 Robert Hess and Virginia Shipman, "Early Experience and the Socialization of Cognitive Modes in Children" in Matthew Miles and W. W. Charters (eds.), Learning in Social Settings. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970, pp. 178-179.

3 For an excellent critique of the developmental literature on lower-class black children, see Stephen S. Baratz and Joan L. Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, Feb. 1970, pp. 29-50.

this study, we must ask to what realities are the mothers socializing their children. It would appear that both mothers are equally oriented toward the constraints and demands of school for their children. In schools, it is more likely that lower-class children will be rewarded for passivity and compliance while middle-class children will be rewarded for being creative, resourceful, and assertive.[4]

The experimental models and theoretical assumptions used by Hess and Shipman have been echoed in the literature on the cognitive development and achievement patterns of black children. One of the dominant themes of this research is the abuse of mothers. They are accused of giving inadequate cognitive stimulation, creating disorderly and chaotic home environments, offering restrictive and punitive demands, and devaluing education for their children (Martin Deutch, 1963). Little attempt is made to understand the sources of their behaviors and attitudes nor to explore the structural and institutional forces that impinge on their lives and shape their relationships with their children. It seems much easier and less threatening to define the inadequacies of the dyadic and individualistic relationship between mother and child than to question the inequities and injustices of the society. Within the literature on family-school dissonance, therefore, we find the sexist tradition of blaming black mothers for the perceived inadequacies of

---

[4] See Ray Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, August 1970, pp. 411-51; and Eleanor Burke Leacock, Teaching and Learning in City School, New York: Basic Books, 1969.

their children, for the perpetuation of their own poverty, and for the creation of social deviants and societal chaos.

Kenneth Clark's work provided an important transition from focusing on the inadequacies of ghetto life to looking at the structural and interactional patterns within schools that do not provide supportive, nurturant, and receptive environments for poor black children. In Dark Ghetto, Clark focuses on the rejection and hostility that poor children suffer in white, middle-class oriented schools and proposes changes in teacher behaviors, attitudes, and competencies that would be supportive of the children's self-concept.[5] Most important, Clark rejects the class-bound, pejorative tradition of social scientists and recognizes the danger of thinking of lower-class life as a self-contained system which would draw our attention away from the imposition of wider society. Despite his compassionate and insightful analysis, however, Clark still does not present the Harlem community in terms of its own social order, cultural idiom, or life style. Harlem is described less in its own right than by comparison with everything that is non-black and non-slum.

Although we recognize a shift of blame in Clark's analysis of family-school dissonance in black communities, he continues to be preoccupied with explaining the deviance and deficiencies of poor black children. The focus remains on the damaging impact of familial socialization and the

---

5 Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. New York: Harper and Row, 1965, pp. 133-148.

resultant inadequacies of lower-class black children. In general, the success and accommodation of middle-class black children are given minimal attention in the literature. The range and variety of human values, attitudes, and behaviors within black culture are neglected by focusing on the poor and by defining their behavior in individualistic and motivational terms. Culture begins to take on a pejorative connotation as it becomes linked with poverty and race and the whole essence of inequality. [6] By attributing a distinctive cultural system to the poor, researchers have tended to isolate poverty cultures and focus on the alleged motivational peculiarities of the poor (self-indulgence, inability to delay gratification), rather than consider the various responses of people to the structural characteristics of the stratified social system as a whole.

Herbert Gutman, a social historian, identifies three research questions related to black life that reflect the different ideological perspectives of scholars and reveal divergent patterns of data.

> What was done <u>for</u> blacks?
>
> What was done <u>to</u> blacks?
>
> What wad done <u>by</u> blacks? [7]

---

[6] For an insightful discussion of the connections drawn by social scientists between cultural differences, poverty, and social deviance see Charles A. Valentine, <u>Culture of Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

[7] Herbert Gutman, "Black Femalies in America: New Data and Their Implications for Public Policy Revisions," January 1977. Unpublished manuscript.

Daniel P. Moynihan popularized the first orientation when he boldly proclaimed, "The Negro has no value and culture to guard and protect."[8] This stance is racist in its assumption; the notion being that blacks are lesser beings to be feared, coddled, and controlled. There is no attempt to systematically and dispassionately describe the patterns of life and experience for blacks in an oppressive, unjust society; only to focus on their inadequacies and deficiencies relative to "mainstream" society. This external, comparative view of black families presents a picture of black life that is seen as a grotesque distortion, an ugly and incomplete mirror of white life, rather than as its own unique combination of elements reflecting culture, history, and experience.

The second research orientation documented by Gutman, though more benevolent in its imagery than the first, does not give a comprehensive and holistic description of the socio-political processes and institutional structures that have victimized blacks. These researchers show a blinding preoccupation with the exploitation of victims which negates the humanity and diminishes the power of blacks. In other words, the researchers have spoken passionately about oppression and degradation and its damaging effects on the afflicted people, but have neglected to point to evidence of the strong and enduring responses of the oppressed

---

8 Office of Public Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, (The Moynihan Report) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

and have failed to document the active, initiating strategies that they have used for survival and accommodation.

The final question has been given minimal scholarly attention compared to the other two. It represents a dramatic ideological and methodological shift--one that requires comprehensive and subtle description and analysis and the liberated minds and perspectives of scholars. The objective visions must also incorporate an empathetic pursuit of another truth; a truth told by those who have been denied a historical voice. (Alex Haley's Roots stirred the passion of black Americans not because he had meticulously reported the factual evolution of history but because he researched a story that had been untold and hidden and because he searched with discipline, endurance, and empathy.)

In seeking to understand the early familial socialization of black girls and the relationship of blacks to schooling, therefore, one must respond critically to the basic socio-political and ideological visions of researchers that shape the questions they are likely to ask and frame their construction of reality.

Exploring Different Views and New Agendas

Without exaggerating the power of social science and its impact on educational policy and practice, it is clear that research objectives and findings are intricately linked to prevailing social, political, and ideological agendas. Social scientists may reside within ivory towers distant from the stinging realities of urban communities and schools,

but the values, biases, and fears they project are part of this world. Even with the most objective and reliable instruments of analysis, they rarely escape their own histories, cultural preoccupations, and educational training. It is not surprising, therefore, that educational practitioners often find comfort in the wisdom of social science. Denying the critical role of families, emphasizing the irresolvable differences between black families and schools, placing the blame for the inadequate socialization of black children on the willful neglect or ignorance of their mothers, lets educators assert the rightness and goodness of schools as the single, dominant learning environment. Teachers can rationalize their beliefs that lower-class, minority families are destructive settings that have an irreversible, negative influence on children never to be undone by schools. After all, teachers in ghetto schools receive damaged materials with which to work and the best they can do is save a few exceptional students from the harsh realities of family and community life. Or a slightly more benign interpretation of the literature might permit teachers to assert that families are irrelevant and distracting to the educational process and it does not matter what happens beyond the walls of the classroom. But rarely does the notion prevail that families are the first and primary educators whose effects should not be undone, but elaborated on, enriched, and expanded by schools. The sad irony of social science preoccupations with family-school conflict in black communities and the rationalized responses of educators is that education for the large

majority of black children will only be successful when there is continuity, trust, accountability, and responsibility shared between families, communities, and schools.

Future strategies for designing more productive and effective schooling for poor and minority children must recognize the critical role of families as educators and the important relationships between families, communities, and schools. Being aware of the power and significance of families does not mean that school should not be held accountable for teaching children. Rather the opposite - that once school personnel begin to value the significant place of families in the educational process, they will feel more responsible to the communities they serve and to the children they teach. Once teachers become more cognizant of the forms and styles of learning within families, education may be seen more holistically and the medium and message of school can be designed to be adaptive to the values and idiom of community life.

I am certainly not arguing for the superficial interpretations of cultural inclusion represented in Negro History Week, now generously expanded and ritualistically renamed Black History Month. Pictures of Paul Robeson, Willie Mays, Martin Luther King, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass are tacked on classroom bulletin boards. Their stories are bigger than life. They are distant unreachable heroes for whom children can feel deeply proud. But rarely are their lives honestly and meaningfully incorporated into the educational experience of children.

Their pictures come down at the end of the month only to appear next year, the same unchanging faces, a bit more tattered and worn.

Nor am I claiming that in recognizing families as educators, we should degrade or compromise educational excellence. This was one of the great mistakes of the sixties when large numbers of humanistic, liberated teachers, mouthing the rhetoric of non-traditional education, invaded black communities. They sought to establish loving, caring, familial relationships with their young black charges. Their goals were often laudable and worthy. Their hearts were more or less pure. But their hippy clothes, missionary zeal, progressive pedagogy, and playful style offended black parents who wanted a more rigorous traditional education that focused on the basic skills of reading and writing. In fact, if ghetto schools are going to begin to be responsive to parental values, it may be that the authority structures, pedagogical modes, and educational goals of schools will need to become more traditionally defined with visible and explicit criteria established for child competencies. In the King School in New Haven, when parents became increasingly involved in the schooling process, they negotiated with teachers for more structured and orderly classrooms, and emphasized the rigors of academic work. As a matter of fact, some parents had become involved in the school specifically in response to what they perceived as a disorderly, chaotic environment that condoned deviant, disruptive behavior in their children and threatened the values that they taught at home.

But mere rearrangements in curriculum, teaching style, or staffing patterns will not produce significant changes in family-school relationships and community-school accountability. As long as power relationships between minority communities and white middle-class schools remain asymmetric, teachers and principals will not feel accountable to parents and children, and parents will feel helpless and threatened by the overwhelming dominance of the school. For a long time we have understood that the magic of suburban schools is not merely the relative affluence and abundant resources of the citizens (nor their whiteness), but also the balance of power between families and schools, the sense of responsibility and accountability teachers feel for the educational success of children, and the parent's sense of entitlement in demanding results from schools.

There is recent convincing evidence that redistribution of power and shared responsibility between families and schools in poor, minority communities has a powerful effect on teachers, parents, and children. Herbert Walberg found increases in the reading scores and intellectual skills of young black children in a large urban school where parents, teachers, and children drew up written contracts of participation and responsibility in the educational and schooling process.[9] Time and Newsweek magazines have reported stories of progress

---

[9] Herbert Walberg et al., "School-Based Family Socialization and Reading Achievement in the Inner City", Unpublished Manuscript, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1977.

and transformation in all-black schools in Chicago's ghettos where principals and teachers began to demand the active and critical participation of parents in their child's learning and in school policy. With the support of parents, teachers were encouraged to adapt their styles of interaction and behaviors to the cultural idiom of the community.[10] And in the King School in New Haven, the public, elementary school referred to above, teachers and parents tell a long, tortuous, and inspiring story of getting to know one another, growing to trust one another, learning to fight productively, and finally building collaborative partnerships. Not only did the reading scores of children soar to new heights, but the essence of education was transformed by the presence of families within the schools.[11]

Schools will only become comfortable and productive environment for learning when the cultural and historical presence of black families and communities is infused into the daily interactions and educational processes of children. When children see a piece of themselves and their experience in the adults who teach them and feel a sense of constancy between home and school, then they are likely to make a much smoother and productive transition from one to the other. Black familial

---

10 "A New Kind of PTA", Newsweek, November 15, 1976, p. 105.

11 James Comer, "Improving the Quality and Continuity of Relationships in Two Inner-City Schools", Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, Vol. 12, No. 3, Summer 1973, pp. 535-545.

and cultural participation will require profound changes in the structural and organizational character of schools, in the dynamic relationships between school and community, in the daily ritualistic interactions between teachers and children, in the consciousness and articulation of values, attitudes, and behaviors of the people involved in the educational process.

I began by saying that the mediation of history, biology, and culture was a primary task of womanhood. Women of all colors put together these three dimensions in unique and different ways. Of course, one can not speak of the black woman or the black girl. Such generalizations and categorizations destroy the rich variety, diversity, and individuality that we express. We are a myriad of colors; our hair is all textures and lengths; we have differnt family stories, and we weave different life tapestries. But we also share a great deal. We have a profound historical connection and a collective cultural identity that is inescapable in American society.

The discriminating threats of racism and sexism pervade our daily lives. These oppressive and negative forces reflect America's cultural obsessions and cultural fears. They are part of the very fabric of our history and social thought. They are institutionalized into our major social institutions and shape the dynamics of our interactions. We have seen that much of social science research tends to rationalize and "objectify" our prejudicial visions. (Rather than to respond critically to the origins of injustice and discrimination in this society.) The

neglect of the black girls' experience doesn't force us to face the dissonance between our patriotic legends of equality and freeedom and the realities of oppression and racism.

How can we begin to record the lives and experiences of young black girls? How can we begin to attack the contradiction and distortions that have encumbered our clear vision of them. First of all, we must decide that black girls are precious people whose experiences are worthy of study. We must also decide that their social, intellectual, and psychological growth and development are of critical importance to this society. Our research agendas, therefore, must reflect their prominence, their potential, and their strengths. This means that social science must not remain preoccupied with their deprivation, their deviance and their strangeness, but rather seek to understand the social meaning of their cultural perspective. This is a sensitive research task that requires liberated minds. Minority women researchers, who are closest to the experience of young black girls, have the greatest potential for accomplishing this inquiry. But we too must rid ourselves of some of the preconceptions and biases of our academic training in order to do an authentic piece of work.

Social science investigations of black girls must recognize and describe their unique place in the institutions and structures of our society. In a recent monograph on the self-perception and achievement of black girls, Bruce Hare offered an unusual comparison by race, sex, and socio-economic background. Using the narrowly constructed

instruments of experimental psychology, Hare found that:

> "...black girls occupy a psychological and academic middle ground compared to the other groups. For example, both the white girls and white boys had significantly higher reading and math test scores than the black girls, but the black girls had significantly higher performance on reading and and math than the black boys... Black girls were shown to share some clearly sex-related characteristics with white girls, such as higher anxiety and greater independence than their male counterparts of the same race. They also shared race-related characteristics with black boys, such as lower sense of control and lower reading and math scores than the white children.[12]

Most importantly, Hare proposed that more scholarly attention be given to black girls in their own right, rather than assuming that they can be assessed through either the study of females or blacks in general.[13]

In addition to documenting the significance of the combined impact of race, sex, and social class on black girls' success on normative tests, it is important that social scientists begin to construct research paradigms that will offer a more holistic and comprehensive view of development and learning. The exclusive focus on school-related competencies, for example, gives a very distorted view of the range of capacities and skills that black girls reveal in other contexts.

---

12 Bruce Hare, "Black Girls: A Comparative Analysis of Self-Perception and Achievement by Race, Sex, and Socio-Economic Background," Report No. 271, January 1979, pp. iii-iv.

13 Ibid. p. iv.

Education must be conceived of broadly - to include the deeply etched learnings within families and communities, peer socialization, intergenerational and intragenerational acculturation, religious and ideological indoctrination, and survival training. We must also examine the relationships among the various institutions that shape and define the young girls' experience - families and schools being two primary environments.

In his recent book, The Ecology of Human Development, Urie Bronfenbrenner proposes a conceptual framework that is pioneering in its attempt to carefully describe the various contexts in which growth takes place. Human development is a process of understanding and controlling the environment: "making the world one's own and becoming a person in the process." Bronfenbrenner urges his colleagues to move beyond the constricted and biased modes of experimental research which has studied "the strange behavior of children in strange situations with strange adults for the briefest period of time" and systematically examine the variety of natural environments in which children grow and live. This more generous and complex view of human development promises to have a particularly compelling influence on our perceptions of groups who have been misperceived and stereotyped by social science and entrenched cultural images. Black girls - so long silenced and invisible - will begin to gain prominence and be seen in their wholeness. It is only when we begin to explore black girls within the broad ecology of education that we will capture an authentic picture of them as unique

and differentiated individuals and as a distinctive cultural unity.

III

FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS

Synthesized from eight workshop sessions

Findings

1. The unique concerns and problems of Black women cannot be appropriately addressed when articulated exclusively within the context of "women's" issues.

2. Black women are seriously underrepresented in local, state, and Federal agencies in policy-making and program development areas, and especially in those units where funding priorities are determined and executed.

3. Because of the scarcity of their number, dispersion throughout the country, and relative isolation in the workplace, Black women who have penetrated the policy- and decision-making levels need a mechanism for developing mentoring systems, networks and other vehicles for sharing and promoting the development and success of other Black women.

4. There are no Federally supported longitudinal or comprehensive research projects that examine socialization or other aspects of Black women's development.

5. Research methods frequently used to study aspects of Black women's development are too often stereotypical.

6. Black women appear to make career choices late in life and, therefore, their career options are restricted by their

limited and delayed exposure to a wide variety of educational-career related options.

7. Black colleges, which account for 70 percent of all Black women graduates in the nation, are experiencing a decline of Title III (Higher Education Act) support. A further restriction of Black women's opportunities to use such funds for advanced education is due to expanded eligibility criteria.

8. Programs targeted to underrepresented populations, such as TRIO, Upward Bound, and Talent Search, are inappropriately located on main campuses of major white universities while their clientele generally are concentrated on branch campuses. This decreases Black women's access to support services that are designed to facilitate their transition to college.

9. The singular importance of the role of the family in early socialization and the preparation of family members to perform this task is found woefully lacking in research, education, employment, and in programs designed to support families in general.

10. There is a conspicuous lack of research that seeks to study and codify the positive aspects of socialization including the development of survival and coping skills that are inherent in the Black experience.

11. Incentives in the public and private sectors provide little or no encouragement for parents to become more active in the

educational development and socialization of their children.

12. There is an urgent need to increase parents' involvement in educational programs at pre-school and grade school.

13. There is extremely limited research on the formal and informal teaching strategies used in Black colleges that have been found to be educationally effective with large numbers of Black youth.

Recommendations to the National Advisory Council

The concerns and issues examined in the workshop discussion groups resulted in recommendations which are submitted to the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for appropriate policy and program action. Symposium participants urged the NACWEP to support and encourage the integration of these recommendations into policy and program initiatives at the Federal level. In addition, they hope that the Council will work toward those policy and program recommendations that fall within the scope of its mandate. Moreover, there was a general concern that a plan of action for the participants should be included in this report for the purpose of facilitating implementation and follow-up recommendations.

Policy and Program Recommendations

The National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs should:

1. Sponsor annually a National Black Women's Symposium.

2. Give top priority to scheduling the proposed symposium and all all such symposia on the campuses of Black colleges.

3. Recommend to the Secretary that funding be provided to establish a Black professional women's network for the purpose of creating and disseminating information on nontraditional career opportunities in the private and public sectors.

4. Recommend to the Secretary that research be supported to investigate the relationship between career development and mentoring as an influential factor in the professional development and success of Black women.

5. In view of the underrepresentation of Black women in policy-making positions, recommend to the Secretary that a career development internship program be designed that is specifically targeted to Black women.

6. Recommend to the Secretary that all departments be encouraged to assure equitable representation of Black women as consultants/field reviewers of proposals.

7. Recommend to the Commissioner that programs be supported that seek to expose Black women in high school and college to "successful" Black women who hold Federal positions. Such exposure is crucial in those communities where few role models exist.

8. Recommend to the Secretary that immediate attention be given to funding of Black organizations and institutions for the purpose of developing model programs that seek to encourage and expand articulation among Black female educators nationally.

9. Recommend to the Secretary that a special effort be made to coordinate career development and training programs designed to encourage participation of minority women, including both Department of Labor and Department of Education programs.

10. Recommend to the Secretary that funds be increased for support of career education specifically targeted to Black women.

11. Recommend to the Secretary of Education that appropriate funds be designated to:

    (a) Codify the teaching strategies and adult-nurturing roles used in Black colleges that have proven to be effective in promoting academic achievement of a number of Black youth; and,

    (b) Develop and implement longitudinal studies on the relationship between socialization and educational development of Black women.

12. Recommend to the Secretary that programs be supported to encourage more parental involvement in schools in general and community schools in particular.

13. Recommend to the Secretary that parent education programs be expanded.

14. Encourage the President to assure fair representation of Black women on the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs and all other comparable advisory councils.

15. Recommend to the President that all Federal agencies be encouraged to assure equitable distribution of grants and contracts to Black organizations and institutions concerned with educational and career advancement of Black girls and women.

16. Recommend to the President that an assessment of all Federal agencies be undertaken to determine the number of grants and contracts awarded to Black organizations and institutions concerned with educational and career advancement of Black girls and women.

17. Recommend to the Women's Educational Equity Act Program that its regulations and practices ensure equitable distribution of grants and contracts to Black organizations and institutions.

18. Recommend to the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education that it establish a program priority to re-educate counselors and teachers about the socialization process as it affects education and career development of Black girls and women.

19. Recommend to the Secretary that TRIO, Upward Bound and Talent Search Programs be targeted to campuses with large concentrations of minority students in general and Black women in particular.

20. Recommend to the Secretary that provisions for graduate educational opportunities for Black women be reinstated in the Higher Education Act, Title III.

21. Recommend to the Secretary that there be no reduction in Title III funds of the Higher Education Act, as a result of changes in eligibility criteria.

22. Recommend to the Secretary that incentives be established to encourage private and public organizations to:

    (a) Establish flexible work schedules to allow families the opportunity to spend more time with their children and to encourage more participation of parents in their children's daily school activities; and,

    (b) Establish day care centers in close proximity to the workplace.

23. Recommend to the Secretary that provisions be made to support the creation of a Center for the Study of Family Life. Some of the priorities of such a Center should be to:

    (a) Investigate the impact of socialization on the development of girls in general and Black girls in particular.

    (b) Study the positive aspects of socialization unique to Black families, including single-parent families, and female headed households.

    (c) Codify the informal child-rearing strategies that encourage positive coping skills.

    (d) Develop and verify research methodologies and tools that are nondiscriminatory.

(e) Establish longitudinal research projects to study the socialization of Black girls from infancy through the first permanent employment year.

Recommended General Action Plan for Participants

1. Symposium participants will maintain contact with the NACWEP to assure that the recommendations are carried out appropriately and will attempt to involve those national organizations represented at the Symposium in the monitoring process.

2. Symposium participants will forward names of Black women to the President and Secretary for consideration on Presidential and Departmental advisory councils. In addition, names should be submitted to NACWEP for transmission to Federal officials for consideration on review panels, special committees, and related bodies at the Departmental level that impact on the advancement of women in general and the educational advancement of Black girls and women in particular.

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

PROGRAM

Thursday, September 20, 1979
SESSION I - 8:30 A.M.

School of Education Auditorium Hortense Dixon, Presiding

Welcome
Gladys Gunn

Conference Purpose
Joyce Payne

"Black Women in Non-Traditional Careers"
Anne K. Burlew

"Political and Economic Roles of Academic Black Women"
Olga Welch
with
Joyce Jones

SESSION II - 10:30 A.M.

Hannah Hall Auditorium

Opening Convocation
and
Dedication of Barbara Jordan Archives
Texas Southern University

SESSION III - 12:00 P.M.

Tiger Room, Student Life Center Eliza Carney, Presiding

Luncheon Session
Helen Edmonds

SESSION IV - 1:30 P.M.

School of Education Workshop Sessions

SESSION V - 3:15 P.M.

School of Education Auditorium Alma Alexander, Presiding

"Political Socialization of Black Women State Legislators"
Jewel Prestage

"Socialization Patterns and Characteristics Associated With Success"
Lillye H. Jones

SESSION VI - 4:30-6:00 P.M.

School of Education Workshop Sessions

Friday, September 21, 1979

SESSION VII - 8:30 A.M.

Hannah Hall Auditorium Paul Parks, Presiding

"Young Black Girls: The Separate Worlds of Families and Schools"
Dr. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot
School of Education, Harvard University

SESSION VIII - 9:30-10:45 A.M.

School of Education Workshop Sessions

SESSION IX - 10:45-11:30 A.M.

Hannah Hall Auditorium Marguerite Selden, Presiding

Marianna Davis

Delores Thomas

Jacqueline Fields

SESSION X

Hannah Hall Auditorium H.W. Dixon, Presiding

Conference Recommendations

PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

Ms. Alma Alexander is Associate Director of Central Counseling Center at Texas Southern University. Previously, she served as a counselor at the University of New Orleans and a teacher in the New Orleans Parish Schools. Ms. Alexander has served as National President of Eta Phi Beta Professional Women's Sorority and Executive Board member of the National Council of Negro Women.

Dr. Anne Kathleen Hoard Burlew is Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Cincinnati. Formerly, a researcher at the Institute of Social Research and the College of Community Service, she is the author of numerous publications on Black women and one of the editors of Reflections of Black Psychology.

Ms. Eliza M. Carney is the Chair of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. She has formerly served as Academic Advisor for the Arizona State University College of Nursing and a member of the Standards Committee of the University Admissions Board for Colleges of Nursing. Ms. Carney is active in public interest groups, including the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, and the American Civil Liberties Union. She is a graduate student at the University of Arizona and a member of the Advisory Board of the Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest.

Dr. Marianna Davis received her D.Ed. degree in English from Boston University, the M.A. from New York University, and B.A., from South Carolina State. She is presently an English Professor and Research Director at Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina where she has served on many professional boards, committees, and held membership in numerous professional organizations.

Dr. Hortense W. Dixon is Vice President for University Relations at Texas Southern University, and Coordinator of the Black Women's Symposium. She formerly served as Executive Assistant to the Mayor of Houston and Vice President for Urban Programming at Texas Southern University when the University was designated "A Special Purpose University for Urban Programming." She is the author of more than twenty-five publications on university planning, minority groups and community development.

Dr. Helen G. Edmonds is Distinguished Professor of History-Emerita, North Carolina Central University and former Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences. Dr. Edmonds has served as an alternate delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, a member of the Presidential Advisory Council for the Peace Corps, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmanent Agency, and the Bureau of International Organizations. She is the author of numerous publications including "Black Faces in High Places."

Dr. Jacqueline Fields is Project Director, Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. She received her Ph.D. degree in Educational Psychology from Case Western Reserve University, her Ed.M. degree from Indiana University of Pennsylvania and her B.Ed. degree from Duquesne University. She has been a teacher, guidance counselor and administrator, and has presented many noteworthy papers on education and employment problems among women. Among the honors Dr. Fields has received is the Outstanding Young Woman of America Award. Dr. Fields serves as Program Review Coordinator for the Women's Educational Equity Act Program.

Ms. Carole Gibson is Associate Director of the National Urban League's Education Division. Her career as an educator includes service as a teacher, guidance counselor, and administrator. She is active in numerous community service organizations and has served as a District Director of Girl Scouts, U.S.A. Ms. Gibson was recently sworn in as Chair of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education.

Ms. Gladys Gunn is Vice-Chair of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs and Director of Training and Employment at Central State University. Ms. Gunn has formerly served as Director of the Central State Training Institute and Assistant Superintendent of Educational Services for the Ohio Youth Commission. She is active in community and professional organizations and serves on numerous boards, including the Inner West Priority Board.

Dr. Barbara Loomis Jackson is Dean of the School of Education at Morgan State University. Formerly, the Associate Dean of Education, Director, Doctoral Program in Educational Administration at Atlanta University, she started her professional career as a secretary for a nursery school. She is the author of numerous publications on higher education and leadership development including "The Preparation of Educational Leaders from a Black Perspective" and "The Status of Black Women in Public School Administration" with Dr. N. Joyce Payne, both published in Emergent Leadership.

Ms. Lillye E. Henderson Jones is Women's Employment Opportunity Specialist for the city of Phoenix, Arizona. She has been active in employment training and formerly served as Field Representative for the Maricopa County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples. Ms. Jones was the Coordinator of the 1977 Arizona Minority Women's Conference and is the author of a definitive work on the socialization process and characteristics of successful managers.

Dr. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot is Associate Professor of Education and Social Policy at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Formerly, a researcher at the Albert Einstein School of Medicine, the Center for Educational Policy Research and the W.E.B. Dubois Institute for Afro American Research, she is the author of more than 20 substantive works related to the socialization process in families and schools, including: Worlds Apart: Relationships Between Families and Schools.

Dr. Beverly Lindsay is Assistant Professor of Educational Policy Studies at the Pennsylvania State University. She has conducted extensive research on education in third world countries. She is the author of numerous publications on Desegregation and Black American Higher Education. Dr. Lindsay is the editor of a forthcoming book, "Comparative Perspectives of Third World Women: Social, Educational and Career Patterns."

Dr. Mabel S. Lott is Professor of Education and Chairperson of the Department of Guidance and Counseling at Texas Southern University. Dr. Lott was formerly Associate Dean of Students Head of the Department of Secondary Education and Administration, Texas Southern University.

Mr. Paul Parks is a Registered Professional Engineer and a member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. Mr. Parks has served as Chair of the Federal Policies, Practices and Programs Committee. He is active in many organizations, including the Boston Chapter of the NAACP, The Junior Chamber of Commerce and serves on the Human Resources Committee of the National League of Cities.

Dr. Joyce Payne is Program Specialist for the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, and is responsible for the Federal Policies, Practices and Programs Committee of the Council. She has formerly served as a lobbyist and researcher for the Council of Great Cities Schools and Assistant Director of the Center for the Study of Handicapped Children and Youth at Howard University. Dr. Payne is active in numerous organiza-

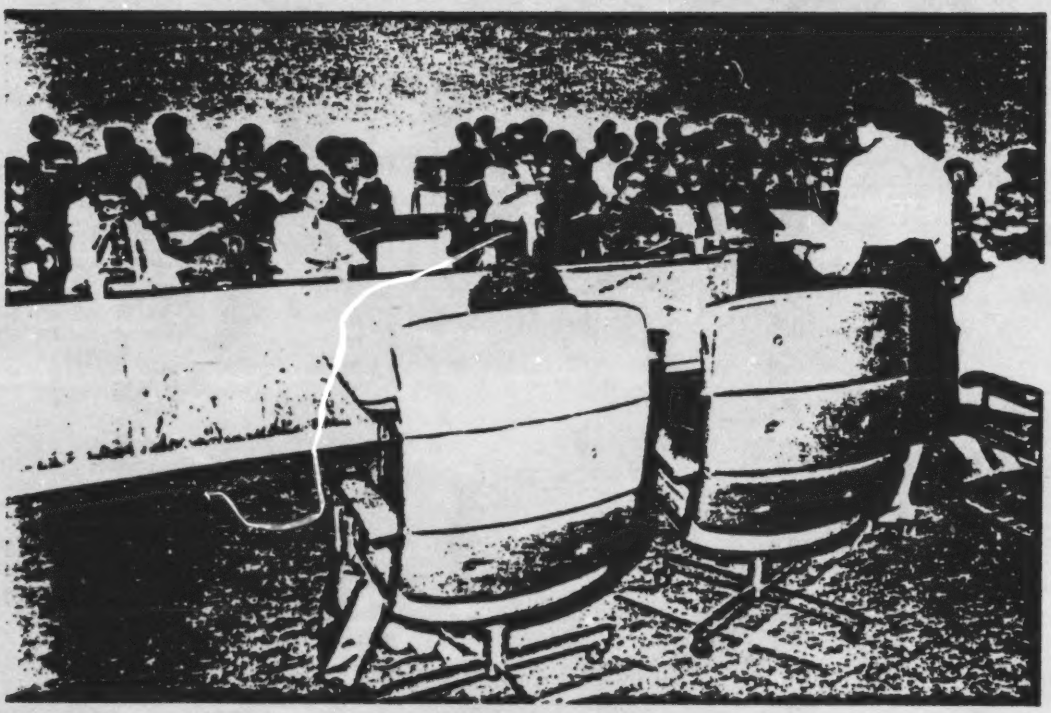
tions including the District of Columbia Coalition for the Appointment of Women in the D.C. Government, 100 Black Women of Washington, and the National Alliance of Black Educators. She is a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of the District of Columbia.

Dr. Jewel Limar Prestage is Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Political Science at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. She is the author of more than twenty publications on the "Political Socialization of Blacks and Political Education." She is Chairperson of the Louisiana State Advisory Commission to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and Acting President of the Southwestern Political Science Association. Dr. Prestage is the co-author of "Styles of Marginality: Women State Legislators in Race, Sex, and Policy Problems."

Ms. Marguerite Selden is a member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs and served as Vice-Chair for two terms. A professional educator for 29 years, Ms. Selden retired as Assistant Superintendent for Continuing Education in the District of Columbia Public School System. She was a member of the last presidentially appointed District of Columbia City Council and a member of the D.C. Commission on the Status of Women. She is active in community affairs, serving on the Citizens Advisory Board for Providence Hospital and the Community Advisory Board of the Junior League.

Dr. Delores Thomas is Program Director for the Women's Educational Equity Act Program for Training and Assessment. Previously, she served as Specialist for Equal Opportunity for the Maryland State Department of Education. She is active with the National Council of Negro Women, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the League of Women Voters.

Dr. Olga Welch is Assistant Professor of Special Education and Rehabilitation at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She has previously served as a supervising teacher at the Tennessee School for the Deaf and an Administrative Intern at the University of Tennessee. A young researcher, Dr. Welch has concentrated her research interest on the Black Academic Woman. She serves on the Chancellor's Commission for Blacks and is the Chairman of the Commission's Affirmative Action Committee.



The establishment of the Barbara Jordan Archives at Texas Southern University provides for the Southwest a unique research facility of international significance. An extraordinary gift from one of the most outstanding alumnae of the University, this singular collection endows the University with a comprehensive collection of historical documents rarely found within the holdings of a traditional college library system.

The collection of Representative Jordan's papers, manuscripts, and personal memorabilia span the period from 1967 through 1978. The early days of her career as an attorney, her activities in the Texas Senate, and her outstanding contributions on Capitol Hill are all reflected in the collection. The Archives permit a thorough analysis of the development of the career of one of this country's most distinguished Congressional representatives and provide for scholars of political science, history, and law the opportunity to examine in depth one of the most historically rich eras in the development of the United States.

The Archives serve as a source of inspiration and pride to students and faculty of Texas Southern University and to members of the Houston community. This addition to the University Library forms a magnificent complement to the other special collections housed there and is an enriching contribution whose value will continually escalate in years to come.

The participants in the Black Women's Symposium were privileged to have been invited to witness the dedication of the Jordan Archives.